



Sketch-Design by Gordon Scheimer

Photo by Susan Landor

CALIFORNIA

Production center for war
Page 1, 2, 3

The PROFESSOR

as defense contractor
(Berkeley, Stanford)
Page 8, 9, 12

The BAY AREA

Staging ground for
Indochina Page 2, 10, 11

California ranks as the number one recipient of defense monies because it has come to play a central role in the industrial base of the U.S. military system.

California provides 46% of all the nation's missiles and space systems, 44.3% of all military building supplies, 33% of all military Research and Development, 27% of all petroleum used by the DOD, 23% of all military subsistence items (food, clothing, toilet articles, etc.), 21% of military electronics and communi-

cation equipment, 20% of military construction work, 20% of administrative services, 10.3% of all naval vessels and 9.9% of all military aircraft.

In addition, California has pocketed about 50% of all NASA prime contracts during the past decade. A quarter of the entire NASA budget goes to a single company in Southern California: North American Rockwell.

By MARTIN GELLEN

War is California's biggest growth industry--\$12.1 billion in 1970

During 1970, the Department of Defense, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) will spend approximately \$80 billion.

This is more than any other nation spends for war, let alone for "defense." More than half that sum will go to ten states: Missouri, Georgia, Massachusetts, Virginia, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New York, Texas (thanks to LBJ) and, last but not least, California, the largest beneficiary of defense spending in the country.

In 1968, with only 10% of the population, California received about 18% of all defense contracts with a total worth of approximately \$6.5 billion. In fiscal 1970, total defense expenditures (including military installations and government payrolls) in California will amount to \$10.8 billion, with an additional \$1.3 billion for NASA programs.

This is almost twice the amount of the total expenditures of the State Government of California and equal to the total Gross National Product of the Philippines, Indonesia, Taiwan and all of Southeast Asia.

The military heart

A breakdown of California's \$6.8 billion in defense contracts

reveals where the heart of military capitalism in the state lies. Thirty-five per cent of the total, (or \$2.3 billion), goes for missile and space systems, 15% (\$956 million) for aircraft, 13% (\$820 million) for electronics and communication equipments, 6% (\$383 million) for ammunition, 4% (\$260.5 million) for petroleum, and 3.35% (\$211 million) for ships.

This means that about 65%, or \$4.1 billion, of all defense contracts awarded to California industries goes to the state's "aerospace" firms. Moreover, about half of these contracts (\$2.2 billion) are allocated for research, development, testing and evaluation. This is the most lucrative of all defense business since costs are not strictly fixed.

At the same time R & D contracts are often tied to production contracts which are many times larger and which extend over a period of several years; thus, \$80 million in R & D can pave the way for a long-term billion dollar production program.

The largest defense contract in the state and the nation is

Lockheed. Between 1961 and 1967, Lockheed received approximately \$12 billion worth of defense contracts, comprising about 88% of its total business.

In 1967, Lockheed grossed about \$709 million for R & D, of which 70% went to its five California plants (L.A., Burbank, Ontario, Redlands and Sunnyvale). Close behind was General Dynamics with about \$200 million in R & D for its six California installations situated in Pomona and San Diego.

McDonnell-Douglas with six plants in the state, Hughes Aircraft with eleven, North American Rockwell with five, and Aerojet-General with six each raked-in over \$100 million in R & D work for their California divisions.

These 39 plants receive most of the defense monies going to California and represent the foundation of the California defense industry.

Total capital investment in defense in California has never been accurately determined. Some economists believe it may be somewhere between \$30 billion and \$50 billion--if

land, buildings and equipment are included.

Department of Defense land holdings in California are extensive. According to a 1964 report by the Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Department of Defense, the U.S. Government owns 4.4 million acres of military landed property in California with an approximate worth (in 1964 prices) of \$4.1 billion.

Both in acreage and dollar value this was the largest military holding in any state. Department of Defense property also included land, buildings and key pieces of equipment in many of the 99 defense plants situated in the state. This property is owned by the U.S. government and formally leased to defense contractors as part of military contractual arrangements. About 35% or more of Lockheed's total assets for example, derive from the Federal government.

Defense employment

Defense spending is perhaps the single most important contributor to employment in Cal-

ifornia. About 37.5% of manufacturing employment in the state is directly attributable to defense and space related industries. Between 1967 and 1968, this amounted to about 600,000 workers.

A rough estimate of the total impact of defense spending upon employment would also include about 120,000 jobs resulting from subcontractors and suppliers and their suppliers in turn, as well as 266,000 civilian and 320,000 military persons on DOD payrolls and approximately another million jobs which depend on the spending of workers in defense related work.

This means that about 2.2 million people, or 30% of the state's employed work force of 7.5 million, are dependent in one way or another upon military expenditures.

Estimates by the Joint Economic Conversion Committee in the state legislature are more conservative, but still quite dramatic. The committee attributes 946,000 jobs to defense

—Continued on page 2

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'You name it--and California will kill it'

—Continued from page 1

and space in California and an additional million jobs indirectly induced by defense monies.

If families of the 1,946,000 workers are included, then, the Committee says, "more than one-fifth of California's population depends on the flow of defense dollars into California."

Regionally within the state, the proportion of total employment dependent upon defense dollars is higher. About 70% of all aerospace employment originates in Southern California--most of it concentrated in the Los Angeles/Long Beach Area. Figures for 1960 show that at least 43.6% of the total employment there is both directly and indirectly tied to defense spending.

In San Diego, aerospace manufacturing represents about 65% of the total manufacturing employment; with 17 military installations, the Navy and the Marines together pump about \$1.35 billion dollars yearly into the San Diego area.

The Security First National Bank of Los Angeles claims that over one third of the \$30 billion gross regional product of Southern California can be traced to defense expenditures.

Although the L.A. area by comparison draws in about three times the amount, the \$1.3 billion pumped into the Santa Clara County aerospace complex between Menlo Park and San Jose gives Santa Clara the distinction of receiving more defense dollars per capita than any other county in the state.

About three of every five new jobs in Santa Clara County are

now dependent on defense spending.

The high proportion of R & D work as well as contracts devoted to space missiles, and electronics gives the aerospace labor force a distinctly white-collar composition. Over 53% of the employment in California aerospace companies consists of engineers, scientists, technicians and other salaried personnel.

This occupational pattern is also reflected in the use of floor space in aerospace plants where on the average only 40% is devoted to manufacturing, but 30% is allocated for offices and laboratories and about 30% for storage and other purposes.

California's large aerospace industry is also the reason the state has attracted a disproportionate number of scientists and technicians. Available data indicate that 27,641 scientists, or 11.4% of the national total, live in California.

If this number is broken down according to disciplines, California then can claim 12% of the nation's earth-scientists and meteorologists, 13.2% of its psychologists and about 16% of its mathematicians, statisticians and physicists.

Reliable figures do not exist for engineers, but rough estimates suggest California accounts for about 20% of the nation's electrical engineers and about 25% of its aeronautical engineers.

Defense multiplies

The fact that a high proportion of the defense-dependent labor force is also highly skilled, well-educated and well-paid means that the multiplier effect of defense spending in aerospace is much higher than it is for military installations or large commercial factories. The consumption patterns of defense workers are geared to middle-class suburban living standards and therefore have a greater impact upon local demand for goods and services than do the consumption habits of workers in most other industries.

However, the "knowledge industry" in California is more than a source of labor and expertise; it also plays a key political role in the development and growth of the defense-oriented base of the state economy. For example, the interlocking relationships between the Pentagon and the University of California makes clear this political fact of life, e.

Many are aware of the background of Charles J. Hitch, President of the University of California. He is a former director of the Rand Corporation and served for several years as Deputy Secretary of the Department of Defense.

But few realize that Glenn Seaborg, former Chancellor of Cal/Berkeley, is head of the Atomic Energy Commission. Seaborg's AEC activities reflect the reality of the University of California's control over 90% of the nuclear weapons research in the country.

Professor/Armorer

In addition, the last three directors of the Pentagon's Office of Defense Research and Engineering all have come from Cal's Lawrence Radiation Laboratory. The DRE's function is to determine future armament priorities for the whole defense establishment, then to spend the money that will put these pro-

jects on the road.

Is it surprising, then, that California's research and educational institutions receive about 26% of all defense dollars which go to non-profit R & D contractors in the country? And that the state's universities (Cal, Stanford, Cal Tech & USC) receive about 20% of all military R & D money granted to universities and colleges throughout the nation?

The flow of personnel between California's heavily research-oriented aerospace firms, the universities and the Pentagon is therefore no accident; it is a necessary mechanism for the healthy and profitable functioning of the military-industrial complex in the state.

Martin Gellen is a staff member of the Bay Area Institute, a research collective in San Francisco specializing in economic and political studies of the Far East.

Defense, then, is the state's largest industry. It represents between \$30 and \$50 billion in assets, produced \$12 billion a year in income and \$1.5 billion in profits and employs more than a million people. It produces about two and a-half times the \$4.3 billion income of agriculture, four times the total income of the construction industry.

Moreover, California's miraculous economic growth since World War II in large part results from aerospace expansion during this period.

Between 1949 and 1957, for example, defense-related employment increased 228%, compared to an 81% increase in non-defense employment. From 1953 to 1963, defense spending rose 57% in California, while population trailed slightly behind with an increase of about 50%.

For the first half of the sixties, about three of every five new industrial jobs were in defense-related areas; since 1965, the ratio has increased to four of every five jobs.

The Bay Area

What is the role of the Bay Area in the state's military-industrial system? Aside from the fact that the region is a national center for aerospace industry, (although not as large in absolute terms as L.A.) the Bay Area is much more significant because of its function as a "staging area" for U.S. military activities in the Pacific and Asia. One-fourth of California's military installations are situated in the nine-county Bay Region. These installations employ about 1/3 of all Federal employees in the state. Thus, any ground war in Asia has significant impact upon government activities in the Bay Area and the local economy. Vietnam, for example, has increased government employment in the region by at least 20%. Perhaps as much as 40% of Vietnam-related jobs in California are situated here.

San Francisco in particular is the regional headquarters of the Defense Supply Agency and manages \$1.6 billion a year in military procurement for the whole of Northern California, Nevada, Utah, Montana, Idaho, Oregon, Washington, Alaska and Hawaii.

The San Francisco office supervises contracting and trans-

portation activities in these states for production, distribution of military timber supplies, components for missiles and high-altitude bombers, electronic components, communications equipment, subsistence supplies and ammunition.

In addition, the Bay Area has prospered from the stepped-up trade between California and the Far East due to U.S. military operations in S.E. Asia. According to Barry Weisberg of the Bay Area Institute, the rate of increase of the California Gross State Product has doubled since 1965 largely because of the export bulge reflected in the expanded activities of Northern Californian ports in Pan-Pacific commerce.

The major export items--vehicles, gasoline engines, petroleum, construction materials, non-electrical machinery, dried fruit, canned milk and other canned foods--are precisely the same commodities which account for a good portion of the \$1.7 billion rise in defense spending in California between 1965 and 1968, when the military massive build-up for Vietnam took place.

Furthermore, the need to produce that highly-skilled and

well-educated labor force requires large private and public expenditures for education and training. This is one reason California developed the most highly capitalized university system (both public and private) of any state.

Cal Tech, USC and UCLA feed engineers and scientists into the Southern California aerospace complex. Berkeley and Stanford are similarly hooked-up to the Northern Santa Clara County missiles, space and electronics companies.

The economic impact of the war in Vietnam upon the Bay Area should not be taken as exceptional. It is merely a specific trend in a total pattern.

There may be many more Vietnams, and what we have in California is not simply a boom from one war, but the administrative and industrial apparatus required to maintain all sorts of military operations; tactical and strategic forces, small wars and big wars, counter-insurgency programs and nuclear holocausts. War is not only a growth industry in California, but it's highly diversified, too.

You name it--and California will kill it.



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THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY GUARDIAN

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THE SO. CALIFORNIA WAR MACHINE

LEMOORE

Naval Air Station

Corporate DOD Contract Totals in Various Cities

Los Angeles . . . \$378,975,000
 San Diego 281,910,000
 Anaheim 554,255,000
 Lompoc 97,829,000
 Oildale 423,000

For complete list see Dept. of Defense listing of Prime Contractors for Calif., fiscal 1969. Available from Deputy Comptroller for Information Service.

Lockheed Aircraft Corp.
 \$22 million (see Burbank)
McDonnell Douglas Corp.
 \$14 million (see Huntington Beach)
Federal Electric
 missile control systems: \$35 million
Branch Disciplinary Barracks (Army)
KSC Western Test Range, Operations Division (NASA)

LOMPOC

GOLETA

General Motors(10)
 tanks, armored vehicles, jet engines, artillery, rifles:
 \$11 million

Naval Construction Battalion Center

ANAHEIM

North American Rockwell(8)
 missile rocket motors, aircraft, electronics: \$418 million

Philco-Ford(19)
 aircraft equipment, missiles, telecommunications: \$45 million

Northrup (35)
 tactical aircraft, jet tankers, missile systems, ordnance: \$27 million

Interstate Electronics
 missile support systems: \$29 million

Lear-Siegler
 aircraft & rocket instrumentation: \$23 million

AZUSA

Aerojet General(26)
 missiles, mines, nuclear rockets, aircraft parts, rifle parts, bomb casings: \$72 million

BURBANK

Lockheed Aircraft Corp (1)
 missiles, aircraft: \$251 million

CAMARILLO

Oxnard AFB

CORONA

Naval Ordnance Laboratory

COSTA MESA

Susquehanna Corp.
 missile rocket motors, ordnance, electronics: \$17 million

CANOGA PARK

North American Rockwell
 \$18 million (see Anaheim)
Hughes Aircraft Co.(14)
 missile control systems, aircraft, electronics, communications: \$43 million

Bunker-Ramo
 electronic warfare devices and studies: \$7 million
Reactor & Research Facilities(AEC)

CULVER CITY

Hughes Aircraft
 \$184 million (see Canoga Park)
Litton Industries(21)
 navigation systems, nuclear submarines, missile systems, aircraft: \$10 million

EL SEGUNDO

North American Rockwell
 \$14 million (see Anaheim)
Hughes Aircraft Co.
 \$37 million (see Canoga Park)
Aerospace Corp.
 research & development: \$76 million

FULLERTON

Hughes Aircraft Co.
 \$83 million (see Canoga Park)

GLENDALE

Singer Co.(58)
 missiles, guidance systems, electronics: \$26 million

HAWTHORNE

Northrup Corp.
 \$56 million (see Anaheim)

HUNTINGTON BEACH

McDonnell Douglas Corp.(4)
 aircraft, missiles: \$168 million

LONG BEACH

McDonnell Douglas Corp.
 \$134 million (see Huntington Beach)
Naval Station
Naval Supply Center
Long Beach Shipyard

LOS ALAMITOS

Naval Air Station

LOS ANGELES

North American Rockwell
 \$23 million (see Anaheim)
Garrett Corp.
 aircraft engines, missile support systems: \$15 million

NEWBURY PARK

Northrup
 \$13 million (see Anaheim)

NEWPORT BEACH

Philco-Ford
 \$46 million (see Anaheim)

NORTH HOLLYWOOD

Bendix (34)
 components for missiles, aircraft: \$22 million

NORTHRIDGE

Teledyne (22)
 aircraft electronics, navigation systems: \$24 million

PASADENA

Jet Propulsion Laboratory, NASA Pasadena Office

PT. MAGU

Pacific Missile Range (Navy)

Reactor & Research Facilities (AEC)

PORT HEUNEME

CAMARILLO

SANTA SUSANA

NEWBURY PARK

VAN NUYS

NORTH HOLLYWOOD

CANOGA PARK

GLENDALE

SANTA MONICA

PASADENA

LOS ANGELES

AZUSA

EL SEGUNDO

CULVER CITY

REDONDO BEACH

HAWTHORNE

POMONA

SAN PEDRO

FULLERTON

LONG BEACH

LOS ALAMITOS

SEAL BEACH

CORONA

HUNTINGTON BEACH

SANTA ANA

COSTA MESA

POMONA

General Dynamics Corp.(3)
 aircraft, missiles, nuclear submarines: \$139 million

REDONDO BEACH

TRW Inc.
 \$89 million (see San Bernardino)

SAN PEDRO

Fort MacArthur (Army)

SANTA ANA

El Toro Air Station
Marine Corps Air Facility

SANTA MONICA

Western Electric Co.
 missiles, electronics, communications, sonar: \$57 million
System Development
 research & development: \$45 million
RAND Corp.
 most famous defense "think tank": \$19 million

McDonnell Douglas Corp.
 \$33 million (see Huntington Beach)

SEAL BEACH

Naval Weapons Station

TORRANCE

Garrett Corp.
 \$10 million (see Los Angeles)

VAN NUYS

Lockheed Aircraft Corp.
 \$137 million (see Burbank)
RCA(23)
 missile tracking radar, communications: \$17 million
Litton Systems Inc.
 \$62 million (see Culver City)

VANDENBERG AFB

Boeing Co.(9)
 bombers, helicopters, missiles: \$11 million

WOODLAND HILLS

Litton Systems
 \$74 million (see Culver City)

CHINA LAKE

Naval Ordnance Test Station

Fort Irwin(Army)
Marine Corps Supply Center

BARSTOW

George AFB

VICTORVILLE

Norton AFB
TRW Inc. (38)
 missiles, electronics, aircraft components: \$53 million

March AFB

RIVERSIDE

Marine Corps Base, Camp Pendleton
Naval Hospital, Camp Pendleton

OCEANSIDE

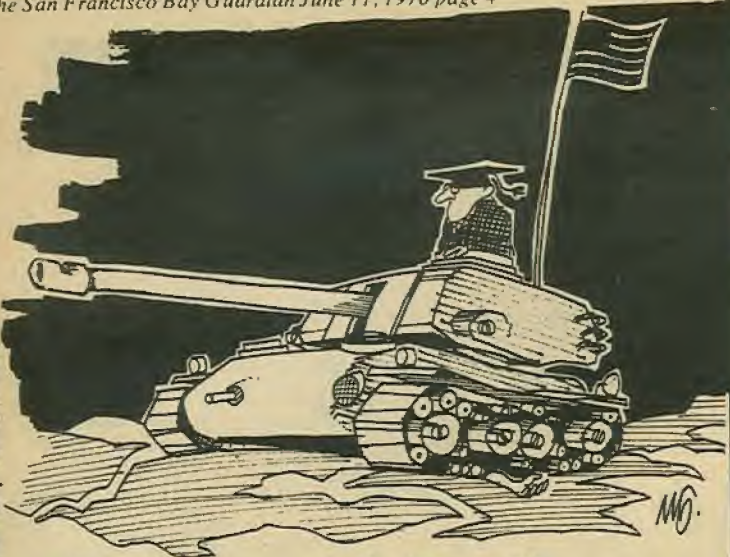
SAN DIEGO

General Dynamics
 \$46 million (see Pomona)
Ryan Aeronautical
 missiles, aircraft, electronics equipment: \$188 million
Coronado Amphibious Base (Navy)
Fleet Anti-Air Warfare Training School (Navy)
Fleet Anti-Submarine Warfare Training School (Navy)
Naval Air Station, North Island
Naval Electronics Laboratory

THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY GUARDIAN

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Sketch by Mick Stevens



Notice to all DOD contractors: you are on military assignment

"None of the funds authorized to be appropriated by this act may be used to carry on study unless such project has direct and apparent relationship to a specific military function or operation." (The Mansfield Amendment, which goes into effect July 1, 1970, as part of the 1970 military Procurement Act.)

Charles Schwartz, professor of physics at Cal/Berkeley, sought to determine officially how this amendment would apply to his Air Force research. Here, published for the first time, is his exchange with Lloyd A. Wood, director of physical sciences, AFOSR.

Dear Mr. Wood:

I would like to discuss with you the effects of Section 203 of the Military Procurement Authorization Act, commonly referred to as the "Mansfield Amendment." As you are doubtless aware, I have been an outspoken critic of many military policies of the United States, and I have publicly taken a pledge "that I will not participate in war research or weapons production. . ."

I have in the past been able to convince myself that my research work was not in any apparent way directed to the support of any military function, and thus I have found it conscionable to accept funds from the Air Force for the purposes of furthering this basic research work and supporting the education of graduate students in these areas of pure physics.

In conversation with representatives of the Air Force I have in the past been assured that this attitude of mine was in consonance with Air Force policy in that they are interested in supporting a broad base of pure research for the long range good of the national interest.

Now, however, the wording of Section 203 makes this no longer an allowed position. . .

Charles Schwartz

Dear Prof. Schwartz:

In reply to your letter of 26 February 1970, I may say that the theoretical research investigations supported by this office at Berkeley do meet the relevance requirements of Section 203 of Public Law 91-121, in our judgment. Indeed, it has been our policy through the years to support only research which we have regarded as basic to aerospace technologies required for future Air Force operations. To have done otherwise would have constituted a failure to meet our obligations and duties as public servants. Thus we have been of the opinion that according to our interpretation of the language we have supported only research which has a direct and apparent relationship to a specific Air Force function or operation.

The change introduced by Section 203 has been largely a substantial restriction in the latitude with which we have been able to interpret the phrase "direct and apparent relationship." The present interpretation requires that the relationships be much more direct and much more apparent in our official documentation and justifications of our programs.

We are, however, not in a position to make this information publicly available, because to do so would obviously allow a substantial insight into the total technical program of the Air Force which would be of value for military intelligence.

Therefore, for security reasons, we must maintain this information in a closely held status.

Lloyd A. Wood, Director

Dear Dr. Wood:

I have called your bluff; but you refuse to show your hand. Therefore, I shall not play with you any longer.

Your letter of March 6 contends that all the research supported by the Air Force Office of Scientific Research is in conformity with the new law (Section 203) in that the research work done by me, among others whom you support, does have "a direct and apparent relationship to a specific military function or operation."

I claim that this is untrue. The research work that I have been engaged in is not related to any military function in any direct or apparent way.

Your refusal to support your position, "for security reasons," is patently absurd. I claim that you are unable to justify your position at all and you are invoking official secrecy as a cover-up for what would appear as illegal behavior on the part of the Air Force.

I am herewith resigning from further participation in Grant AF-AFOSR 68-1616A and its successor AFOSR Contract F-44620-70-C-0028; and I shall limit my present comments on this act to a quotation of the Boy Scout Oath: (from memory) "On my honor I will do my best to do my duty to God and my country and to obey the Scout Law, to help other people at all times and to keep myself physically strong, mentally awake and morally straight."

Charles Schwartz

DOD off campus!

Read carefully the adjoining exchange of letters between Prof. Charles Schwartz, professor of physics at Cal/Berkeley, and the Air Force. It represents the most powerful editorial the Guardian could write in support of its position that Department of Defense funds no longer have a place on the college campus.

For Prof. Schwartz found that, even though he felt his research was non-military, as do most other faculty DOD researchers, the Air Force felt differently and in fact supported "only research which has a direct and apparent relationship to a specific Air Force function or operation."

And what is this "direct and apparent" relationship?

The Air Force wouldn't tell Prof. Schwartz, their man on campus doing basic research, because "for security reasons, we must maintain this information in a closely held status."

What do "security reasons" have to do with the traditions and ideals of an open, independent, free university? Or information in "closely held status?" Or the whole business of research, pure or applied, basic or mission-oriented, good or bad, when it comes from a Defense Department that is conducting a tragically brutal, illegal, undeclared, widening war without end in Indochina.

This isn't World War II, when the scientific cadre at Cal and Stanford pitched in with everybody else, and it isn't Korea. It is Vietnam and Cambodia in 1970--the most detested war in U.S. history.

Are there more professors who, like Prof. Schwarz, would summon the courage, the moral indignation, the something, to sever in protest their research connections with the Defense Department? There may be some, but we couldn't find them. The issue, however, has become much larger than the individual position of the individual professor.

For it is now clear, by our maps, charts and building by building inventory of DOD distribution at our two major universities, just how deep, widespread, militarily significant and academically dangerous the DOD/AEC involvement actually is.

By our reckoning, Cal and Stanford today exemplify in 96 point Tempo bold the danger foreseen by Adm. Rickover in 1968 when he testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

"President Eisenhower mentioned the industrial-military complex," he testified. "I have mentioned the military-scientific complex. I think this is the really dangerous one. . . It may be difficult to regain control of the DOD. Yet if its empire-building is not restrained, it may become the most powerful branch of the National Government."

"This surely was not intended by the Founding Fathers; nor, I feel sure, is it the will of the American people. . . I believe the DOD research

—Continued on page 19

We recommend:

In 1892, the president of the Burlington and Quincy Railroad wrote to his friend Richard Olney, Attorney General of the U.S. He recommended Olney act to abolish the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Olney reassured his friend in a letter: "The Commission. . . is, or can be made, of great use to the railroads, at the same time that supervision is almost entirely nominal. Further, the older such a commission gets to be, the more inclined it will be found to take the business and railroad view of things. It thus becomes a sort of barrier between the railroad corporations and the people, and a sort of protection against hasty and crude legislation hostile to the railroad interest. . . The part of wisdom is not to destroy the Commission, but to utilize it."

California private utilities are already "utilizing" the PUC in vintage Olney tradition (they've now got four of five commissioners, thanks to Gov. Reagan's friendly appointments.) Now, in State Proposition 3, the private utilities want to disembowel the commission by removing its constitution-based powers (a legacy of Hiram Johnson) and pitching them to the legislature (traditionally, a strong utilities bastion).

The PUC's thin blue line of regulation would evaporate as it has in other states with legislative control over commissions.

The stamp of PG&E, SP and Western Pacific on this Proposition is no accident. John Sproul, PG&E's politically muscled senior attorney, was on the PUC Revision committee and he and his allies saw to it that utility spokesmen were invited to speak (not consumer spokesmen or members of the general public) and that private utility sentiment dominated throughout.

NO on Proposition 3.

Note: If this is what the Constitution revisers are up to, the committee itself is in need of immediate and drastic revision.

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William Bennett

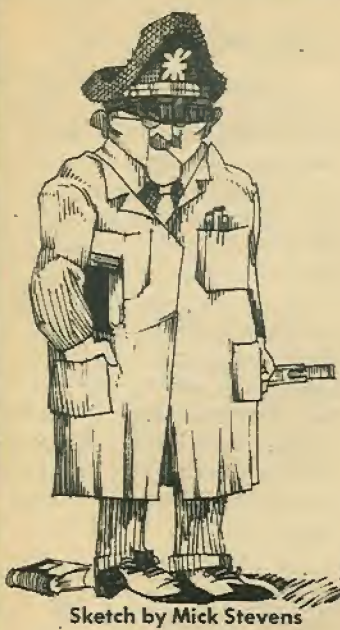
(Exempting candidates without primary competition)

SAN FRANCISCO PROPOSITIONS

A.	Public School Building Bonds	Yes
B.	Street Lighting Bonds (aren't there more pressing Capital outlay problems than street lighting?)	No
C.	Fire Protection Bonds	Yes
D.	Creation of Airport Commission (The need is for a regional transit authority, not another city commission. More: this new commission will give the airlines more power and will prohibit the use of airline revenues for other municipal departments.)	No
E.	Fire Department Administration	No
F.	Bonded Debt Limitation	Yes
G.	Salaries of Disability Transferees	Yes
H.	Busing Policy Declaration (The question is so phrased that a YES or NO vote is both meaningless and misleading. Either way, the Barbagaleta/Maillard crowd will have you.)	Don't vote
I.	Police Department Organization	No

STATE PROPOSITIONS

1.	U.C. Health Bonds	No
2.	Partial Constitutional Revision	Yes
3.	Partial Constitutional Revision (Another move to disembowel the PUC--see page 4.)	No
4.	Partial Constitutional Revision	Yes
5.	Partial Constitutional Revision	Yes
6.	State/County Boards of Education	Yes
7.	Interest on State Bonds (The most outrageous special interest proposition, a Trojan horse play to keep the water project moving.)	No
8.	Schools and Welfare Taxation	No



Sketch by Mick Stevens

Perhaps more obviously than in Vietnam, American universities have played a strategic role in the U.S. counterinsurgency effort in Thailand.

Scientists and social scientists, some at Cal/Berkeley and Stanford, have been deeply involved in everything from developing weaponry for the Pentagon to perfecting infrared airborne surveillance systems of the kind that tracked Che, to advising "development" projects admittedly part of counterinsurgency strategy.

The most important contributions come from the Stanford Research Institute (SRI), the applied research arm of the Bay Area's own military-industrial complex. (See p. 9.)

Thailand's strategic importance to American designs in Asia becomes increasingly clear. When Secretary of State William Rogers pledged May 13 that the Administration will not commit U.S. troops to proping up Cambodia's Lon Nol regime, he added he was encouraging Bangkok and Saigon to do the job. Thai troops have been fighting in Vietnam and Laos for some time, and they will probably soon take up their American-made arms and American-designed strategy and go to war against Cambodia's newly formed National United Front and its Vietnamese allies.

This is the Nixon Doctrine, Rogers explained. But Thailand has been important to U.S. Asia doctrine for a long time. Since the beginning of the American air war in Indochina, Thailand has been a privileged

sanctuary for American planes to sally forth to bomb North and South Vietnam, Laos, now Cambodia, and to menace China.

Well before Thailand became a U.S. runway, however, it had been chosen as America's counterinsurgency research lab. The Pentagon's Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) announced the opening of its Bangkok office in 1961, just as Eugene Staley, on leave from SRI, was returning from a Kennedy mission to Vietnam with recommendations which would end the revolution, as Diem put it, in 18 months.

In the nine years since, ARPA's academic warriors have tested assault vehicles, combat communications and jungle defoliants. They have perfected infrared airborne surveillance systems and developed a welter of "people sniffers"—gadgets meant to discover a man by reacting to the metal he's carrying, the vibrations of his footsteps, the heat or odor of his body.

"We are breaking ground here for a new way of looking at insurgency—how to stop insurgency when it is small," ARPA director Charles Herzfeld told Congress in 1967. "This is absolutely a major military problem for the U.S.; and it is largely unsolved."

Most of ARPA's research has been geared to the War in Indochina, but from the beginning the idea has been to generalize it for American use around the world. One Thailand contract studying "the demonstration" is indexed for 14 Asian and South American countries, as well as for Algeria, Israel, Greece and France. Another contract advises the Pentagon how to apply counterinsurgency programs "in the U.S."

Supports involvements

SRI, with main offices in Menlo Park, is probably ARPA's largest single private contractor. "The Institute... supports the foreign involvements of our government," SRI International vice president Ed Robison explained in a 1967 speech to a meeting in San Francisco of big industrialists who support SRI.

Until last January, SRI was a wholly-owned subsidiary of Stanford University. But 70 per cent of SRI's \$60-million-a-year operation is done for Washington, mostly for the Pentagon.

Last year's student campaign to bring SRI under community control and cancel its war work forced the Stanford trustees to sever the Institute from Stanford.

The change took place on paper only. Stanford trustees sold SRI to itself. But SRI directors, long appointed by Stanford's big business trustees, are largely past, present and potential members of the Stanford board. Most have corporate interests in Asia, the weapons industry or both.

Ernest Arbuckle, SRI board chairman and Stanford trustee is a good example. Recently dean of business at Stanford, Arbuckle is now chairman of the board of the Wells Fargo Bank and sits on the board of one corporation that built B-52 bases in Thailand and another that owns controlling interest in the Thai-America Steel Company.

Least Guardian readers think these are unfamiliar firms, the builder of airfields is Utah Construction and Mining—of Apperson Ridge and Bay Farm Island fame. Utah mines iron in Peru and Australia, ships it to Japan, brings Indonesian oil to Los Angeles on the way back. The steel company is a venture of Castle and Cook, best known locally for Sea Ranch, Dole pineapple (Hawaii and the Philippines) and Cabana banana (Honduras and Ecuador).

"The raw materials that enable the rich countries to grow richer must increasingly be bought from the poor," Robison told SRI's big business group in 1967. "The Institute is heavily involved in the struggle to maintain another Asian bastion of strength for the free world." He referred to Thailand.

Since SRI's Bangkok office opened in 1962, the Institute's ARPA SEASURE project has tested "wireless seismic ambush aids" and sought to find guerrillas by "electromagnetic field distortions and currents in and near buried caves and bunkers." SRI's SEACORE project has helped develop tropical communications systems for Vietnam combat and for the population control needs of Thai police.

With Cornell and the University of Michigan, SRI has worked to perfect "infrared photographic surveillance" and other aerial reconnaissance techniques.

Then, it has extensively reconnoitered the long-established home areas of the Chinese and Malay guerrillas in Thailand's southern panhandle. Reports have ranged from pinpointings of guerrilla camps and descriptions of "patterns of Communist terrorist crop cultivation" to a "scenario for possible conflict in Southern Thailand."

SRI also snoops on peasants in Thailand's depressed and insurgent Northeast. Robison wrote in 1967 that SRI's "subjects of inquiry" along Thailand's Mekong border with Laos are "the extent of river orientation of selected villages in the pilot area, mapping ethnographic groupings of communities along the river, ascertaining ethnic and socio-economic relationships across the border and making tentative estimates of the insurgency threat potentials." Current reports filed by SRI's

ARPA brigade run from "Thai-Lao Riverine Village Traffic" to "Surveillance of Boats on Inland Waterways in Thailand by Magnetic Sensors" to "Insurgent Logistics in Northeast Thailand."

Aid drops mask

When I was in college ten years ago, social scientists were debating whether and how to be "agents of change" in the countries they studied. By virtue of their control of research funds, the foundations and the military have resolved the question in favor of their own brand of activism. It's a policy somewhat arbitrarily divided into counterinsurgency and "development."

In most countries, the Pentagon handles counterinsurgency, while the State Department's Agency for International Development (AID) takes care of "development." Radicals have contended all along that AID's "development" programs are really part of a single counterinsurgency strategy.

In Thailand, the mask has been dropped—AID itself in a 1968 AID pamphlet argues that its programs are "concentrated upon a single objective: supporting the Royal Thai Government in its efforts to contain, control and eliminate the Communist insurgency."

Three quarters of AID's annual \$45 million is concentrated in the North and Northeast. AID's largest project there is to train and equip the rapidly expanding Thai police, whose authority AID hopes to impose at the village level for the first time in Thai history.

The remainder of AID's funds are spent developing police-led village security squads, building access roads, digging wells and outfitting the central government's mobile units for health, education and propaganda.

Even the health units AID touts as "an effective way of establishing rapport with the people in security-sensitive areas." Mobile Development Units dispensing health, public works and "psychological operations" in rural areas "threatened by subversion" are 100-man squads of soldiers and civilians, part of the "Thai National Security Command." You and I are buying them vehicles this year.

Given the choice of accepting government or foundation research funds or being armchair scholars, many post-war social scientists have taken the money, emphasized their part in "development" and denied its counterinsurgency implications. But besides bringing outlying provinces under central



government control, "development" as practiced by AID activists means bringing these areas into the capitalist world market.

For Thailand, this is a market dominated by U.S. material needs for the Vietnam war, the food and raw material needs of Japan and the U.S. and the manpower requirements of the huge American airbases—Thailand's largest employer.

Like other American academics, Berkeley and Stanford social scientists involved in the U.S. Thailand effort work through AID's advisory groups. One, the Academic Advisory Council for Thailand (AACT), is AID-funded and administered at UCLA. Another, the Southeast Asia Development Advisory Group (SEADAG), is AID-funded and administered by the Asia

-Continued on page 6

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On the Pacific rim

'The technology of imperialism'

By Theodore Rosengarten

Advanced capitalism's need for resources and markets, and a national addiction to anti-communist ideology--containment, the domino theory--have propelled the U.S. into Indochina. The American war is the current form of an unavoidable political struggle.

Why Vietnam? "Vietnam," Henry Cabot Lodge said, "does not exist in a geographical vacuum." Indeed, from Vietnam "large storehouses of wealth and population can be undermined and influenced"--Thailand and Burma to the west, Formosa and the Philippines to the east, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore to the south.

A center stage on the western half of this potential Pacific empire, California exports locally trained armies, locally manufactured arms and munitions, locally contrived war and counterinsurgency strategies, locally financed investments and loans--the technology of imperialism.

Imperialism is one nation's attempt to control the people and resources of another for political and/or economic gain.

U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia combines political and economic objectives. Thailand has become a U.S. runway and Formosa a spy roost in the effort to make all Southeast Asia free for U.S. capital.

The U.S. road to 'freedom' rims south China with military bases and Standard Oil drill sites. And Bank of America's 5 Vietnam branches profitably finance Vietnamese construction, which incidentally provides the Thieu regime with economic base and the illusion of political stability.

Meanwhile, Bank of America's Chairman of the Board, A. W. Lundborg protests because the war brings social and economic chaos at home, not because his bank and big business pay directly for the war. They don't. The war has demonstrated U.S. inability to consolidate potentially profitable territory, and has created a budget deficit which pushes up interest rates and taxes, cutting investment volume and profits. But the cost of the war is borne by the public at large, while only the banks and the industries they finance stand to profit from

post-war returns.

Political and ideological objectives (military victory vs. strategic withdrawal) change visibly and dominate daily news and editorial coverage. At home, hawks and doves take turns on official perches. What receives less general attention is the constant economic dynamic.

Through 2000 AD the U.S. projects it will gobble up 50-100% of "free-world" mineral reserves. The U.S. now imports 80% of its tin, 45% of its tungsten (used to harden steel), 94% of its manganese (essential to steel) and 100% of its chromium (vital to jet engines).

What does Southeast Asia have to offer?

The U.S. Army handbook for Vietnam lists tin, tungsten, copper and oil in the south. Caltex, Shell and Standard Oil of New Jersey are happily drilling. Japanese investors have been attracted to Vietnamese lumber.

Utah Mining and Construction, a Bay area corporation (see Ransom p. 5) builds Thailand's defense perimeter. With-

in this chain of bases Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical prospectors, Union Oil and Tenneco drill for oil, Union Carbide mines tin, Goodyear and Firestone gather rubber. A glut of American banks finance mineral extraction.

Laos, according to the Army handbook, is largely unprospected, but "scattered surveys" indicate lead, copper, manganese, zinc, antimony and iron ore deposits "of great promise."

Singapore is the home of the "Asian dollar." Also of Texas Instruments, Fairchild, Lockheed, Continental Device, General Electric, Allis Chalmers, McGraw Hill and soon, perhaps, Grumman.

These corporations don't merely mine, manufacture or distribute. Standard Oil of New Jersey, a typical multinational corporation with subsidiaries in over 100 countries, mines, transports, processes and markets its products around the world.

Multinational corporations have become the predominant corporate form since World War II. Where do they come from? Business Week (April, 1963) reports: "In industry after industry U.S. companies found that... as earnings began to rise, profit margins from domestic operations began to shrink. This is the combination that forced the development of the multinational

corporation."

For example, in 1962 13% of Standard's assets--Eastern Hemisphere--produced 27% of its earnings; 20% of its assets--Latin America--produced 39% of its earnings; 67% of its assets--U.S. and Canada produced only 34% of its earnings.

What is the significance of domestic-foreign profit differentials? Corporations seek resources abroad not only because the resources are needed in industrial production, but because foreign investments yield a higher rate of profit than domestic investments.

This higher rate of profit is complemented by other characteristics of foreign investment:

1. A small amount of American capital tends to mobilize foreign capital, that is, foreign countries borrow money and contribute from their own coffers to create a hospitable climate for foreign private investments, thus offsetting usual capital burdens.
2. Because of cheap labor, tax benefits and import-export advantages, earnings cover any capital expended in production. These combined factors indicate multinational corporations import capital from other countries. This is not just another way of saying they make profits. Rather it means that multinational corporations decapitalize countries under the pretext of capi-

-Continued on page 7

Our Thai warriors SRI/ARPA

-Continued from page 5

Society in New York.

For both, in the words of SEADAG's first executive secretary, a Michigan University professor also instrumental in setting up AACT, the aim is "to tap for AID the widest possible personnel resources in the country."

Not involved

AACT members argue vociferously they are not involved in counterinsurgency. But, AID not only states that the single objective of its program is to counter insurgency, but AACT's contract with AID commits them to it. As amended, the contract requires the professors to supply AID with all research, done in universities and elsewhere, which "may relate to development and counterinsurgency problems...in Thailand."

AACT's first major group effort was a conference last summer on "local authority" in Thailand.

Research the Pentagon finds useful to counterinsurgency--that supported in Thailand by ARPA--reaches into almost every corner of interest to social scientists. ARPA-supported research in Thailand in 1966 included studies like "Ethnography of the Akah" and "A Social-Anthropological Study of the Yao People."

Defining research questions in 1967, AID was even more comprehensive: "Is there anything in the village pattern of political organization that lends itself to the promotion of village security?... Is there anything in the village pattern of family organization that is relevant to the promotion of village security?... What is the role of the women in village life? Is it possible that they can make a significant contribution to the promotion of village security?"

AACT's report on "local authority" promised some weeks ago, has not been forthcoming. Perhaps this is because of the ruckus caused by the expose of AACT at the San Francisco conference of the Association of Asian Scholars (AAS) at the Sheraton Palace Hotel in early April.

Shortly before the AAS conference, the Washington-based Student Mobilization Committee broke the story of AACT's counterinsurgency contract with AID. Forewarned and forearmed, AACT executive secretary David Wilson, a UCLA political scientist, attacked his attackers when challenged at the conference. "Hogwash," he said, reading from a prepared text. "As any advertising flack or unscrupulous politico can tell you, a tissue of lies can easily be woven from bits and pieces of truth."

But when young members of the radical Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars persisted in reciting contract terms, Wilson was pushed to the wall. "Are you saying that you will not honor specific elements of your contract?" one asked. "Of course not," Wilson confessed.

Wilson has himself done Pentagon counterinsurgency research. As consultants for the RAND Corporation, the Air Force's Santa Monica think-tank, Wilson and Berkeley anthropologist Herbert Phillips turned out a 1964 study for ARPA on "internal security" in Thailand. To deny insurgents recruits and develop anti-communist village organizations, Phillips and Wilson recommended that Bangkok develop paramilitary village defense units, manned by veterans, the unemployed and village toughs.

Phillips, who was not at Berkeley when he did the RAND/ARPA study, now dismisses it as inconsequential. A dove, he

has never joined AACT, and after the revelation of its contract terms, he joined other members of the Berkeley anthropology department in signing a letter published recently in the Daily Californian, the student daily, which branded the contract as "entirely inappropriate and contrary to the essential educational and research functions of the University."

But Phillips stresses that he believes the contract can be rewritten in a way that will satisfy him. Caught between the devil and the deep, he seems perplexed and angry.

"American Thai scholars feel that, if they speak out in an ideological matter, we'd never get back into Thailand," he told me. He was fearful that the Thai regime AID props up would keep him out. "And that ends our career for...the rest of our lives."

Perplexed

Like Phillips, Stanford anthropologist Robert Textor is perplexed. A long-time liberal opponent of U.S. military policy in Southeast Asia, Textor nonetheless believes some AID programs "serve the best interests of Southeast Asians." As director of the Stanford International Development Education Center (SIDECE), he looks to government and foundation funds to get his students into the field. For that reason, and for that reason only, Textor says, he maintains a membership in SEADAG.

SEADAG hands out \$500,000 annually for Southeast Asian research. Textor and his SIDECE colleagues last spring presented their proposals to a meeting of SEADAG's Education and Human Resource Development Seminar at the Asia Foundation offices in San Francisco. They were pleased when the meeting ranked five SIDECE education proposals in the top ten, later dismayed when the SEADAG hierarchy and their AID overseers eliminated all but one.

Textor says that if scholars, not bureaucrats, are given the final choice of projects, SEADAG will satisfy him. But it is not at all clear AID is interested

in having Textor's kind decide what research needs doing. One reason AID gave for vetoing SIDECE projects was "lack of relevance to AID interests." From the titles of the projects AID chose those interests seem heavily weighted toward studies of Vietnamese politics and the problems of the Thai-Laos border area.

Textor's SIDECE side-kick at Stanford, Frank J. Moore, seems less naive about AID self-interest and consequently less surprised that its projects are to advance the Bangkok regime and American anti-communism. Head of the AACT subcommittee on education, Moore was apparently unaware until recently that the AACT contract specifically mentions "counterinsurgency." But he says he does not shy away from working for AID programs, since he believes that education, apparently in almost any context, "is a plus."

David Ransom is a member of the Pacific Studies Center in Palo Alto, a research collective specializing in the social, political and economic dimensions of American capitalism. He formerly edited the Midpeninsula Observer.

His opinions do not necessarily reflect PSC policy.

However, Moore's subcommittee indeed does set a context. A report from one of its meetings takes as a "basic assumption" that a primary purpose of Thai education is "to develop 'good citizens,' i.e. Thai speaking Central Thai dialect with national (rather than regional or parochial) loyalties focused on King, country and Buddhist religion."

Insuring equity

For some years a security-education syndrome in Thailand has been the joint concern of the U.S. departments of Defense and State. After Wilson and Phillips' 1964 RAND/ARPA recommendation to develop paramilitary village defense units, AID gave priority research status to study the feasibility of recruiting and training North-

eastern youth for central government projects. One of the main problems, AID said, was "the relatively low level of education."

AID currently supports vocational training (agriculture and mechanics) and "rural education" in Thailand. According to its 1970 Congressional presentation, the "rural education" project is "designed to make a substantial contribution to the Thai government's counterinsurgency efforts in the security-sensitive areas of the North and Northeast." It will do this by responding to the "increased desire" for education, the AID presentation said.

But in 1968, AID outlined a research priority in discovering whether high school graduates "will continue to be in demand" if the activities decline at U.S. airbases in the Northeast.

With the increased bombings of South Vietnam and Laos, the new strikes in Cambodia, and the resumed bombing of North Vietnam, presumably U.S. demand for educated Thais is up.

With Wilson and one other man, Moore is also a member of AACT's subcommittee on private investment. Not meant to mobilize funds for investment, the committee researches the "development" of the Thai economy through private sources. Japan is the largest investor in Thailand, but the U.S. is second with its corporate investments rising from \$25 million to more than \$200 million since 1960.

In its 1970 Congressional presentation, AID pointed proudly to \$110 million U.S. government "investment risk insurance" issued to protect "private American equity and loan capital in Thailand." Americans are insuring equity and capital with blood as well as taxes.

"Thailand promises to be an excellent investment and sales area for Americans if the rebel insurgency can be contained," wrote the Chase Manhattan Bank recently. Counterinsurgency, "development" corporate profits and war go hand in American hand in Southeast Asia. The people there would be better off without us.

On the Pacific rim

- Continued from page 6

talizing them, making independent development impossible. Imperialist development means the richer country sucks wealth from the poorer.

But don't U.S. investments create jobs? In Latin America, a proving grounds for U.S. imperialism, Eduardo Galeano (Monthly Review, Apr., 1970) observes, "the enterprises bring a technology along with them to save on manpower where manpower has no employment. The proportion of workers in manufacturing is diminishing in relation to the total active population."

Nor do loans and foreign aid do what private investment does not--develop an independent economy, stimulate jobs and demand. It can be demonstrated that loans destroy national resistance to private foreign capital and that foreign aid, or public capital, is used primarily to protect private investments abroad. In other words, private investments, loans and foreign aid alike have become methods of domination.

Imperialism imposes unequal relations among countries in the form of an international division of labor. This division--intensified in Southeast Asia by the war--describes political, economic and military exchanges between the U.S. and its allies. The U.S. advocates liberalism and democracy, its allies practice military dictatorship and repression; the U.S. supplies initial capital, its allies supply cheap labor and natural resources: the U.S. supplies logistical and air support and counterinsurgency programs, its allies supply ground forces, special 'political' police and prisons.

The international division of labor also describes unequal social structures. In the U.S., the owners of multinational corporations and their political allies make up a ruling class. Beneath them, an elite, white sector of unionized workers in high wage industries enjoy the crumbs of international profits in the form of a high standard of living relative to other workers. They have a stake, therefore, in imperialism and racism. All American workers, in fact, share a general material advantage over workers in the rest of the world.

In Southeast Asia, the upper classes are made up of rich landlords and urban merchants who previously prospered under the French; militarists from this sector who double as political executioners; and, as Business Week (June, 1969) testifies, a growing number of junior partners and managers of multinational subsidiaries and banks. Small working classes benefit initially from new industrial jobs, but inflation, the New York Times reported recently, decimates their wages, and social conditions deteriorate in swelling urban slums. Peasants, the vast majority of people, need land reform and price stability. They support liberation forces who answer their needs.

U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia relies on an unrealistic balance of powers. Japan must play the role of junior partner to U.S. capital, cooperative but dependent; and China must deteriorate; wars of national liberation must be quickly extinguished.

But Japan has prevented U.S. capital from investing in

Japanese industries. Japanese capital thus competes independently with U.S. capital, while together they consolidate Southeast Asia for capitalism. How long will the friendly 'competition' last?

If Japan's 'natural' markets--China and the Soviet Union--tolerate significant Japanese penetration, Japan could find it politically expedient not to antagonize them, possibly to support their interests against the U.S.

Now the Sato regime shifts right, banking on a U.S. victory in Indochina. But if the U.S. loses, a Japanese counsel admitted last week, Japan would have to rearm.

Meanwhile China is progressing, not deteriorating. She illustrates that a country may develop without U.S. patents or assistance. Her political successes--the spread of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" and "people's war"--and independent technological development have convinced Southeast Asian peoples that U.S. imperialism is a "paper tiger."

Inspired and confident, liberation forces are defeating the U.S. The NLF has shown it can strike where and when it wants. U.S. Vietnamization and pacification strategies have failed. The South Vietnamese army, with the highest desertion rates in the world, reproduces the contradictions of the upper classes it represents. Officers fight for money and spoils, address each other in French, shy away from combat. Pacification camps, a former Special Forces officer told a Berkeley audience May 22, have become breeding grounds for liberation forces.

Nixon also has failed to pacify the American people. Instead, his policies have awakened many whites to what blacks already knew--liberalism is a facade. The murders at Kent State, Augusta and Jackson expose political repression; Nixon's unilateral decisions violate the Constitution; U.S. aggression violates the UN Charter--U.S. deportation and incarceration of Indochinese people violate Nuremberg statutes; U.S. invasion of Cambodia without Cambodian assent violates SEATO; U.S. disregard for the sovereignty and independence of Indochinese countries violates the Geneva Agreements.

Liberalism is not the only loser. As the U.S. moves closer to total calamity, reactionary regimes abroad, propped up by American military and foreign aid, lose confidence in their political stability. Investors worry about their investments. Liberation forces are inspired to revolt.

"Who actually fears whom?" Mao Tse-tung asked last week. "It is not the Vietnamese people, the Laotian people, the Cambodian people, the Palestinian people, the Arab people, or the peoples of other countries who fear United States imperialism, it is United States imperialism that fears the people of the world. . ."

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Many weapons of war, nuclear, conventional, counter-insurgent, could carry the label: "Designed and produced as a public service by your friends and professors at the University of California and Stanford."

Stanford Research Institute

Three miles north of Stanford and four miles north of SIP is the Stanford Research Institute, one of the nation's biggest war research centers with \$30.6 million last year in DOD contracts.

SRI was No. 36 on the Pentagon's 1969 list of Top 500 R and D contractors, as compared with Stanford at 68 and UC at 49.

SRI's major components include a Naval Warfare Research Center, Combat Development Experimentation Center, Strategic Studies Center and a 55-man mission in Bangkok, Thailand, attached to the Thai-U.S. Military Research and Development Center, which is financed as part of Project Agile, the Pentagon's program to fight Thai guerrillas. (See Ransom, p. 5.)

SRI holds contracts for such socially useful things as an antimissile missile system (\$6,154,925), the "control and surveillance of friendly forces" (\$229,000), anti-guerrilla surveillance, jungle communications, helicopter warfare, optimal bombing routes over North Vietnam, a secret survey of Naval mobility in the Mekong Delta in South Vietnam.

SRI developed the techniques for the helicopter spraying of CS gas last year on People's Park demonstrators. It was an SRI-designed nozzle for nerve gas that malfunctioned in 1967 and killed 6,000 insurgent sheep near Dugway, Utah.

Fifty-two Stanford professors worked at SRI in 1968 — the last year for which SRI has made figures available. Twelve SRI personnel now work at Stanford. The April 3 movement forced Stanford to sever corporate connections with SRI in January, but the past, present and future boards will remain heavily interconnected.

Take two current directors: Ernest C. Arbuckle and Thomas Pike, both H-P directors. Incidentally, Packard himself, a former SRI trustee, is now assistant secretary of defense and a strong advocate for the ABM system SRI is so expensively researching.

The atomic bombs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and every nuclear weapon built since, could easily carry the University of California seal. For the university has since 1942 had a monopoly on the design of nuclear weapons in the U.S. at its Livermore and Los Alamos facilities. (See p. 12).

Across the bay, the Stanford Research Institute/Stanford Industrial Park/Stanford University complex has become the Bay Area's own military industrial complex.

The war footings of this triangle are enormous: in FY 1969, Stanford had DOD grants totalling \$14,438,587, SRI had \$17,823,591 and 19 firms in SIP had \$76,801,000 in local contracts and \$3,648,311,000 in national contracts.

Stanford provides the technological cadre, the basic research (largely in its chemical, physics and electrical engineering labs) and the prestigious shield and cover of academia.

SRI, a non-profit corporation founded and wholly owned by Stanford until last January, is the applied research arm. SIP's private firms, tenants on Stanford land and poachers of Stanford research and faculty, do the developing and the marketing. Many are "spin-off" firms from Stanford research.

It is a cozy Tinkers to Evers to Chance relationship. Twelve Stanford trustees, over half, are SRI directors or directors at one or more SIP companies. Six SRI directors are directors in one or more SIP companies. A procession of key SIP executives—Dave Packard, William Hewlett, Dean Watkins, Edward Ginzton, the Varian —

have come from Stanford.

Some remain at Stanford, but work as staff or directors at SIP firms—Frederick Terman, William Rambo, Allan Peterson, Alf Brandin, Carl Djerassi, Arjay Miller, A.L. Schawlow. Peterson teaches at Stanford in engineering, consults at SRI, serves as a director of SIP's Granger Assoc.

When the April Third Student movement put the heat on Rambo's classified research in Stanford's Applied Electronics Lab, he quietly moved part of the project to safety at SRI. Did other parts go to SIP firms he is involved with? Rambo won't say: "classified information."

This unique partnership of government, university and industry has worked well, according to Terman. He is the Stanford professor of engineering who, in the late 1930s, encouraged students like Hewlett, Packard, the Varian brothers, to establish nearby businesses that would turn electronic discoveries into valuable products for the growing defense industry.

Businesses and research that followed were well suited to the sophisticated technology of space, missiles and Indo-China war.

As Terman has said, "In engineering and applied science, Stanford has emerged as a pace-setter in a new and expanding pattern involving research-oriented industry and a university under conditions where extensive interaction exists between the two."

"It is not just a coincidence that most of this type industry in the Bay Area lies within a 15-mile circle centered on Stanford . . ."

Twenty-three SIP firms get millions in DOD grants

1. **GRANGER ASSOCIATES**—electronic communications equipment; Directors include "Provost Emeritus Frederick Terman, the key professor/industrialist/empire builder, and Electrical Engineering Professor Allan Peterson, who consults at SRI. DOD contracts at Stanford Industrial Park (SIP) in fiscal 1969, \$2,565,000.
2. **IBM SITE**—see #12.
3. **FLUOR UTAH**—Directors include Thomas Pike, Stanford Trustee and SRI Director, and Alf Brandin, Stanford Vice-President for Business. FLUOR purchased the Engineering and Construction Division of Utah Construction and Mining, which built B-52 bases in Thailand. FLUOR UTAH is a member of the Stanford Instructional Television Network.
4. **BECKMAN INSTRUMENTS**—electronics for industrial, medical, military and space uses; monitoring equipment for undersea vehicles; DOD contracts at SIP in fiscal 1969, \$177,000.
5. **SYNTEX (ZOECON DIVISION)**—pharmaceuticals; President is Carl Djerassi, Professor of Chemistry, Stanford; DOD contracts at SIP in fiscal 1969, \$924,000.
6. **OPTICS-TECHNOLOGY**—optical systems, lasers; Physics Department Chairman Schawlow is a Director; DOD contracts at SIP in fiscal 1969, \$124,000.
7. **VARIAN ASSOCIATES**—military electronics; became first SIP tenant in 1951; Chairman of the Board Edward Ginzton was a Stanford Engineering Professor; Joseph M. Pettit, a current Dean in the Engineering Department, is a Director; DOD contracts at SIP in fiscal 1969, \$15,891,000.
8. **WELLS FARGO BANK**—Eleventh largest bank in the U.S.; Ernest Arbuckle, Chairman of the Board, is a Stanford Trustee and Director at SRI. Stanford Trustee W. Parmer Fuller III, V-P Alf Brandin and Business School Dean Arjay Miller are all directors.
9. **HEWLETT-PACKARD**—highly sophisticated military electronics. HP is the supreme Terman/Stanford/SIP/SRI success story.

William Hewlett and David Packard, two Stanford undergraduates, started an electronics shop in their garage before WWII, profited by the war production economy and ended up with a billion-dollar industrial behemoth, the Hewlett-Packard Co.

Hewlett is a Stanford trustee. Packard was a Stanford trustee, (1954-1969), an SRI director (1958-1969), co-chairman of long range fund drive for the Hoover Institution, which gets money from top executives of defense contractors like Standard Oil, Mobil Oil, Gulf Oil and Lockheed and, like Hewlett, the director of several key corporations in SIP. Packard resigned most posts when he was elevated to assistant secretary of defense in 1969. He's been busy lately bailing out Lockheed, a corporate colleague in the industrial park.

HP, second SIP tenant, now has three industrial park sites. In return, Hewlett and Packard built the Electronics Instruction Laboratory at Stanford, one of two wings of the Stanford Electronics Laboratory. SEL held, as of April 30, 1970, nearly one third (\$4.5 million) of Stanford's DOD contracts.

HP is a member of the Stanford tv network, which is situated in the Hewlett-Packard Electronics Instructional Laboratory in SEL. Directors at Hewlett-Packard include Stanford Trustees Robert Minge Brown and William Hewlett (President); Stanford Trustee's and SRI Director's Ernest Arbuckle and Thomas Pike are also Directors of H-P, as is Terman. DOD contracts at SIP in fiscal 1969, \$13,816,000.

10. **SYNTEX (ALZA DIVISION)**—see #5.

11. **WESTINGHOUSE LEARNING**—programmed education; subsidiary of Westinghouse Electric, which had \$430 million in fiscal 1969 in DOD contracts. Nationally, Westinghouse Learning had \$723,000 in DOD contracts in fiscal 1969.

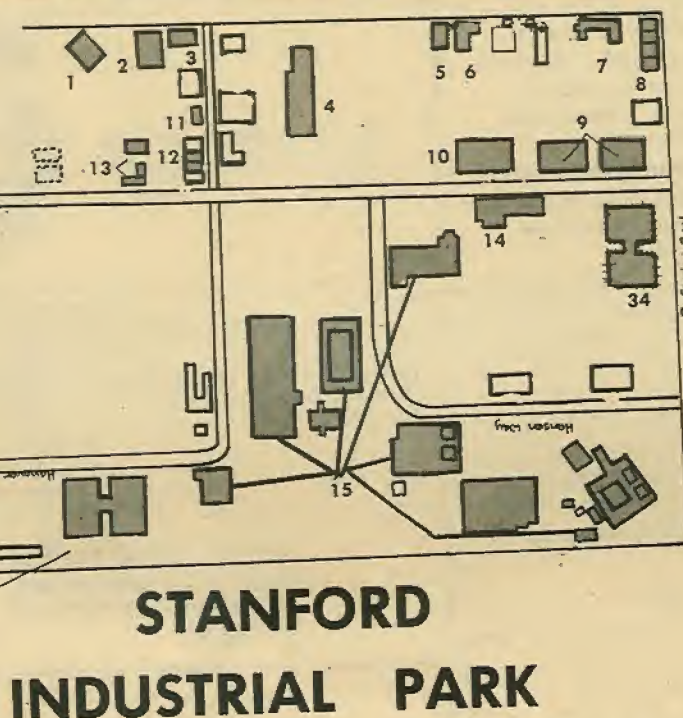
12. **IBM**—data processing and guidance systems (B-52); member Stanford Instructional TV Network; nationally, IBM received \$257 million in DOD contracts in 1969.

13. **APPLIED TECHNOLOGY (ITEK)**—electronics, electronic warfare, countermeasures. APPLIED TECH was set up by a Stanford group, including William R. Rambo (director, Radioscience Labs); biggest Stanford DOD contractor. It was bought by ITEK in 1967. Rambo is currently a Director of ITEK. DOD contracts at SIP in fiscal 1969, \$23,559,000.
14. **EASTMAN-KODAK**—photography, ordnance (explosives); nationally, \$109,848,000 in DOD contracts in fiscal 1969.
15. **VARIAN ASSOCIATES**—see #7.
16. **LOCKHEED MISSILES AND SPACE**—division of Lockheed Aircraft; member of the Stanford Instructional TV Network; nationally, top DOD contractor, \$2,040 million in fiscal 1969; DOD contracts at SIP in 1969, \$2,898,000.
17. **HEWLETT-PACKARD**—main H-P plant (see #9).
18. **METRONICS**—electronics; DOD contracts at SIP in fiscal 1969, \$257,000.
19. **TELEDYNE**—Microwave Electronics, before it merged with TELEDYNE in 1969, had Associate Deans of Engineering William R. Rambo and L. Farrell McGhie on its board. Teledyne does guidance and control systems and other work for missiles and helicopters. Nationally, \$308 million in DOD contracts in fiscal 1969; DOD contracts at SIP in fiscal 1969, \$3,195,000.
20. **CONTROL DATA**—computer systems for defense; nationally, \$56 million in fiscal 1968; DOD contracts at SIP in fiscal 1969, \$44,000.
21. **KAISER AEROSPACE AND ELECTRONICS**—subsidiary of Kaiser Industries, which nationally had \$142 million in DOD contracts in fiscal 1969; DOD contracts at SIP in fiscal 1969, \$1,548,000.
22. **ITT (SEMICONDUCTOR DIVISION)**—nationally, \$238,267,000 in DOD contracts in fiscal 1969.
23. **PRECISION INSTRUMENTS**—magnetic tapes; digital recorders; L. Farrell McGhie is a Director. DOD contracts at SIP in fiscal 1969, \$496,000.
24. **SINGER (ALFRED ELECTRONICS)**—DOD contracts at SIP in fiscal 1969, \$396,000.
25. **MELABS**—electronic equipment, countermeasures; bought by SCM in 1969. DOD contracts at SIP in fiscal 1969, \$127,000.
26. **HEWLETT-PACKARD INTERNATIONAL**—see #9.
27. **CONTROL DATA**—see #20.
28. **WATKINS-JOHNSON**—electronics for government (reconnaissance, radar, surveillance, etc.); another Stanford success story. Dean Watkins, a Terman protégé, got his doctorate in engineering in 1951, was appointed two years later to a tenured position as professor of engineering. Quit in 1963 to devote fulltime to his post as chairman and chief executive officer of Watkins-Johnson, an SIP firm doing 60 per cent of its business on DOD contracts.
29. Named a Stanford trustee in 1967, later resigned and Reagan named him a Cal regent. Terman is a W-J director. W-J is a member of the Stanford TV network. DOD contracts at SIP in fiscal 1969, \$7,682,000.
29. **SYNTEX**—main plant (see #5).
30. **FAIRCHILD SEMICONDUCTORS**—electrical circuits for computers, aircraft, missiles, etc.; member Stanford TV Network; division of Fairchild Camera and Instrument; DOD contracts at SIP in fiscal 1969, \$346,000.
31. **SMITH KLINE INSTRUMENTS**—pharmaceutical instruments; DOD contracts at SIP in fiscal 1969, \$13,000.
32. **SINGER RESEARCH**—formerly Friden; nationally, \$1,906,000 in DOD contracts in fiscal 1969.
33. **APPLIED TECHNOLOGY (ITEK)**—see #13.
34. **PALO ALTO SQUARE**—being built by Dillingham Corp., which builds throughout the world, including military bases in Thailand.

* The Stanford Instructional Television Network links Stanford engineering classes to SRI, San Jose State and 15 Bay Area industries (notably, defense contractors like Hewlett-Packard, IBM, Watkins-Johnson, Philco-Ford, Standard Oil Co. of Cal.)

Some 600 Honors Cooperative Students who use the network, work part-time at Bay Area industries and receive M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s through televised classes from Stanford. Students pay normal university fees. Participating industries are repaying Stanford for its initial \$625,000 investment.

*Terman: "We have been pioneers in creating a new type of community—one that I have called a 'community of technical scholars.' Such a community is composed of industries utilizing highly sophisticated technologies, together with a strong university that is sensitive to the creative activities of the surrounding industry. This pattern . . . be the wave of the future."

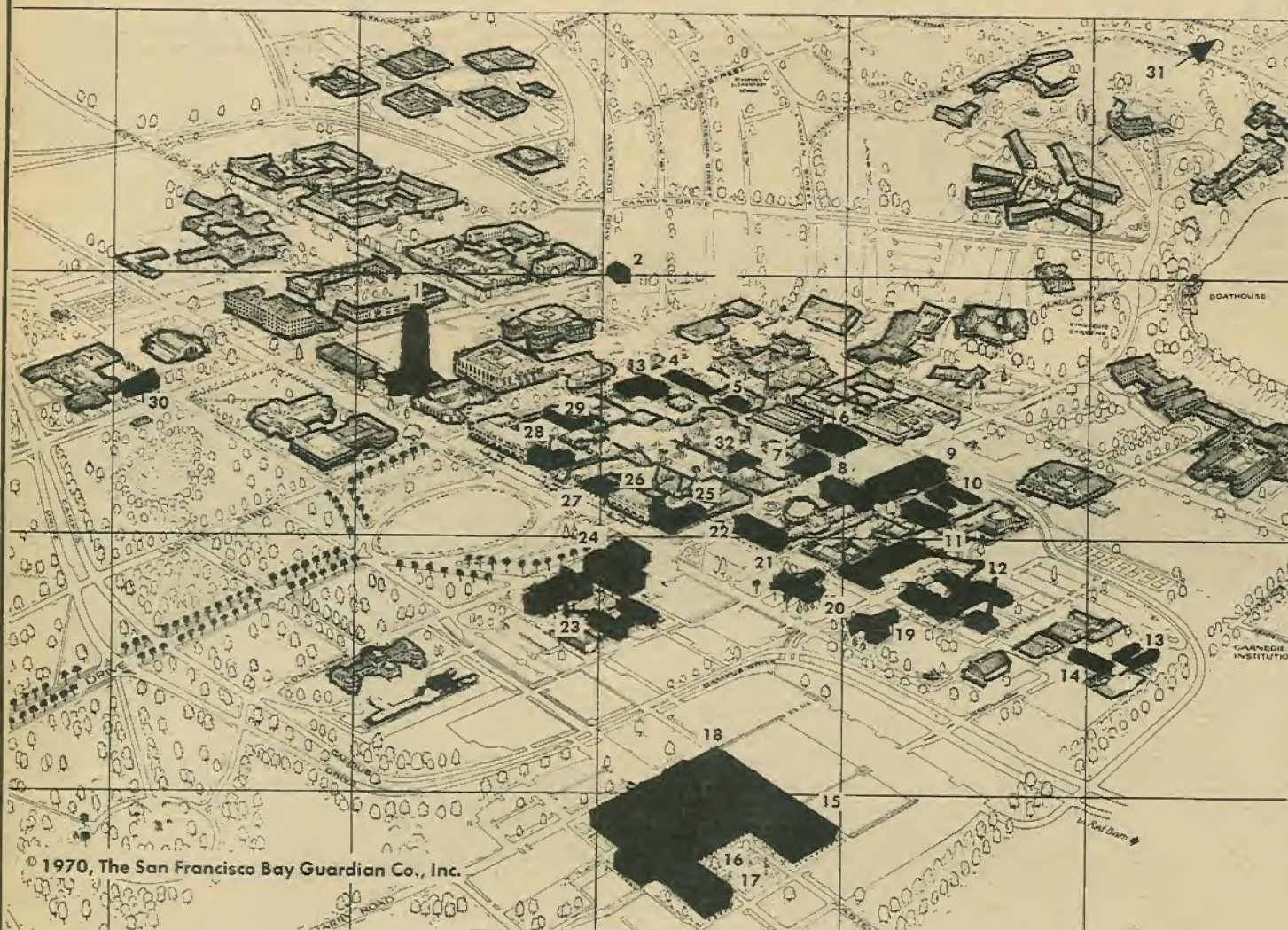


The Stanford Industrial Park, situated on Stanford land a mile or so from Stanford's chemistry, engineering and physics laboratories, is the commercial link in the triangle.

Nineteen of 27 SIP firms hold large defense contracts and, with Stanford's School of Engineering and natural science departments and SRI's applied research, form the nerve center of the U.S. highly sophisticated electronics defense industry. The triangular overlap is reflected in 11 Stanford trustees with SRI or SIP affiliations: Robert M. Brown (H-P), Charles E. Ducommun (Lockheed), Richard E. Guggenheimer (Former SRI dir.), William Hewlett (H-P president), J. Wallace Sterling (Kaiser Aluminum), Ernest Arbuckle (SRI, H-P), Thomas Pike (H-P, SRI), Morris M. Doyle (SRI), Thomas V. Jones (Pres., Northrop, SRI), Gardiner Symonds (Tenneco, SRI).

Despite scathing community objections, Dillingham is building a huge, 17-story out-of-scale convention complex in SIP. Coyote Hill, just to the west, has been opened up for more industrial development.

Stanford/Industrial Park/Research Institute



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Stanford campus

(Building numbers correspond to list numbers below)

Stanford founded SRI in 1946 (with a research group from Lockheed in Los Angeles and a group of California industrialists led by Atholl MacBean, director of Standard Oil of California) and SIP in 1951 (with Varian as the first, Hewlett-Packard as the second, tenant.)

Stanford went to court in 1954 to increase the size of its board from 15 to 23, citing the necessity of handling "real estate development projects now in the planning stages"

(meaning SIP.) Things soon began moving: new board members included Packard and Ernest Arbuckle (later dean of the Business School). Fred Terman was appointed provost in 1955 and Vice-president in 1959. SIP grew rapidly. H-P took several chunks. Many Stanford professors became electronics executives, company directors and vice-presidents, consultants, researchers, hustlers. DOD money rolled in.

Even the teaching has been integrated. Stanford engin-

earing courses now go, by closed circuit television, to several SIP firms (H-P, Lockheed, IBM and Fairchild.)

"Professors once sneered at businessmen and the profit motive," reporter James Ridgeway wrote after visiting the Stanford triangle. "But they have been so successful in taking up the game themselves, the profit motive is now approvingly referred to as the 'reward structure.'"

STANFORD

Know your local defense contractor

19 Institute for Mathematic Studies & Social Sciences Subtotal DOD: \$100,334
Joseph A. Vancampen (N, \$60,334, 10 mos.); Patrick Suppes (N, \$40,000, 12 mos.).

20 Statistics Subtotal DOD: \$205,119
Herman Chernoff (N, \$24,000, 9 mos.); Emanuel Parzen (A, N, \$80,000, 11 mos.); Joseph Gani (N, \$6,119, 12 mos.); Herbert Solomon (N, \$65,000, 12 mos.); Theodore W. Anderson (N, \$30,000, 12 mos.).

21 Office of Naval Research
Funds high energy lab at Hansen Labs, other campus research projects.

22 Physics Subtotal DOD: \$869,771
Melvin Schwartz (AF, \$154,448, 24 mos.); Leonard I. Schiff (AF, \$256,657, 12 mos.); William M. Fairbank (AF, A, N, \$273,668, 24 mos.); Stanley S. Hanna (A, \$90,000, 36 mos.); William A. Little (A, N, \$55,128, 12 mos.); Felix Bloch (N, \$39,860, 12 mos.).

23 Chemistry Subtotal DOD: \$207,078
Paul J. Flory (AF, \$115,122, 12 mos.); Eugene E. Vantamelen (A, \$76,956, 36 mos.); Harden M. McConnell (N, \$15,000, 12 mos.).

24 Biological Sciences Subtotal 1968: \$18,997

25 Mathematics Subtotal DOD: \$384,586
David Gilbarg (AF, \$244,681, 29 mos.); Kai Lai Chung (AF, \$23,015, 12 mos.); Paul J. Cohen (AF, \$42,625, 12 mos.); Solomon Feferman (A, \$18,491, 12 mos.); Hasley L. Royden (A, \$22,774, 12 mos.); Harold Levine (N, \$5,000, 12 mos.); Samuel Karlin (N, \$28,000, 17 mos.).

26 Physiology Subtotal DOD: \$47,249
Jefferson M. Crisman (A, \$18,700, 6 mos.); George A. Feigen (N, \$28,549, 13 mos.).

27 Psychology Subtotal DOD: \$49,895
Philip G. Zimbardo (N, \$49,895, 12 mos.).

28 Sociology Subtotal DOD: \$218,000
Morris Zelditch Jr. (ARPA, \$218,000, 36 mos.).

29 Political science Subtotal DOD: \$24,151
Robert C. North (N, \$24,151, 12 mos.).

Animal facilities Subtotal DOD: \$2,476
Orland A. Soave (A, \$2,476, 12 mos.).

30 Military Sciences
Includes offices of ROTC, NROTC and Air ROTC, major target of students.

31 Stanford Linear Accelerator Complex
Started major conservation battle in mid-1960s: first to keep the huge accelerator off campus, off the San Andreas fault, and in the high Sierra where it belonged, second to keep the AEC/PG&E/Stanford juggernaut from slashing neighboring Woodside with 220,000 volt overhead power lines. AEC/PG&E/Stanford won over Pete McCloskey/Janet Adams/Austin Clapp/Gus Wright/SOS committee. \$114 million AEC facility does research on peacetime applications of nuclear energy. Budget for 1969-70: \$23,860,000.

32 Kenneth S. Pitzer, president

Like UC's Charles Hitch, Pitzer is a good choice to superintend Stanford/SIP/SIR and its steady flow of DOD/AEC/NASA funds. Studied gas cloud formations resulting from large chemical bomb bursts for OSS during WWII. Director of research (1949-51) for AEC, influential in decision to develop H-bomb, testified against Oppenheimer, later became chairman of AEC general advisory committee. As president of Rice in Texas, Pitzer helped organize Scientists and Engineers for Johnson, was awarded by appointment to President's Scientific Advisory Committee. Established nation's first department of aerospace engineering, on lands owned by Rice and Humble Oil, to compliment NASA's \$173 million Manned Space Flight Center. Trustee (with Hewlett) of Rand.

Stanford DOD total:
27 departments, 104
professors, \$14,438,587

SLAC/AEC total: \$23,860,000

*Stanford Key

Compiled from DOD documents (Report L17) available in Research Administration office.

Department of Defense (DOD) contracts and grants at Stanford as of April 30, 1970: listed by department, investigator, amount and length in months.

Amount is investigator's combined contracts. Length is duration of investigator's longest single contract. Does not include AEC contracts.

97 Stanford professors-- \$14 million in DOD grants

1 Hoover Institute Subtotal DOD: \$70,000*
Richard F. Staar (DOD, \$70,000, 12 mos.).*

Institution's benefactor, Herbert Hoover, changed its character in 1960 when he eased out its liberal director and replaced him with Glenn Campbell (conservative economist, formerly of Defense Department, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, right-wing American Enterprise Institute). His executive assistant is former aide to J. Edgar Hoover. Reagan appointed Campbell a Cal regent. Institution subsidizes publications through CIA-involved Praeger publishing house. Hoover experts at home in Nixon administration, particularly in Defense Department's office of International Security Affairs which coordinates U.S. military and foreign policy. David Packard headed successful Hoover fund drive (total budget up from \$400,000 in 1960 to \$2 million) until he went to the Pentagon.

2 Operations research Subtotal DOD: \$230,934
Rudolf E. Kalman (AF, \$27,800, 12 mos.); George B. Dantzig (A, N, \$83,700, 12 mos.); Gerald J. Lieberman (N, \$80,434, 12 mos.); Donald L. Iglehart (N, \$16,000, 11 mos.); Arthur F. Veinott (N, \$10,000, 9 mos.); Frederick S. Hillier (N, \$13,000, 12 mos.).

3 Civil engineering Subtotal DOD: \$56,377
Byrne Perry (N, \$31,377, 12 mos.); En Yun Hsu (N, \$25,000, 12 mos.).

4 Mechanical engineering Subtotal DOD: \$621,494
Robert H. Eustis (AF, \$456,987, 32 mos.); Stephen J. Kline (AF, \$49,657, 12 mos.); John R. Manning (A, \$15,830, 12 mos.); Louis A. London (N, \$74,020, 24 mos.); Robert J. Moffat (N, \$15,000, 12 mos.).

5 Applied Mechanics Subtotal DOD: \$190,952
Miklos Hetenyi (AF, \$61,184, 22 mos.); George Herrmann (AF, \$53,788, 12 mos.); Erastus H. Lee (N, A, \$40,980, 12 mos.); John R. Spreiter (N, \$35,000, 24 mos.).

6 Material science Subtotal DOD: \$850,029
William A. Tiller (AF, \$142,129, 12 mos.); William C. Nix (ARPA, \$657,900, 30 mos.); Oleg C. Sherby (N, \$50,000, 24 mos.).

7 Geology Subtotal DOD: \$40,546
John W. Harbaugh: (N, \$40,546, 23 mos.).

8 Electrical engineering (SEL) Subtotal DOD: \$4,542,917

Donald A. Dunn (AF, \$79,572, 24 mos.); Oscar Buneman (AF, \$65,239, 24 mos.); William R. Rambo (AF, N, \$1,925,000, 35 mos.); Thomas Kailath (AF, \$96,717, 24 mos.); Peter A. Sturrock (AF, N, \$75,000, 12 mos.); Ronald N. Bracewell (AF, \$326,539, 12 mos.); Robert A. Helliwell (AF, \$82,005, 12 mos.); Allen M. Peterson (AF, \$75,000, 14 mos.); Gerald L. Pearson (A, N, \$135,000, 36 mos.); James C. Meindl (A, \$98,839, 36 mos.); Michael A. Arbib (A, \$28,532, 12 mos.); William E. Spicer (A, \$99,453, 36 mos.); Alan T. Waterman (A, \$50,000, 12 mos.); Robert L. White (A, \$23,310, 12 mos.); Daniel B. Debra (N, \$383,438, 18 mos.); Bernard Widrow (N, \$39,692, 12 mos.); John G. Linvill (N, \$20,000, 24 mos.); O.G. Villard Jr. (N, \$899,500, 12 mos.); Joseph W. Goodman (N, \$30,000, 12 mos.).

9 Aero & Astro engr. Subtotal DOD: \$456,210
Walter G. Vincenti (AF, N, \$86,552, 20 mos.); Nicholas J. Hoff (AF, N, \$108,400, 12 mos.); Milton D. VanDyke (AF, \$49,984, 12 mos.); Holt Ashley (AF, \$77,651, 12 mos.); Ralph S. DeVoto (AF, \$25,871, 12 mos.); Erastus H. Lee (AF, \$25,000, 13 mos.); K. Karamcheti (AF, \$27,992, 12 mos.); Howard S. Seifert (N, \$24,760, 12 mos.); Max Anliker (N, \$20,000, 12 mos.).

10 Geophysics Subtotal DOD: \$52,400
Robert L. Kovach: (AF, \$16,959, 12 mos.); Jon F. Claerbout: (AF, \$35,441, 17 mos.).

11 Applied Electronics Laboratory
Housed a major classified research project until students forced it to move off campus. Project still directed by Prof. Wm. R. Rambo. Rambo told the Guardian part of that project had been moved to more friendly latitudes at SRI, but refused to say where the other parts were relocated — "it's classified information," he said.

12 Hansen Laboratories Subtotal DOD: \$3,354,642
Marvin Chodorow (AF, A, N, \$1,326,000, 36 mos.); Anthony E. Siegman (AF, \$60,000, 18 mos.); Robert Hofstadter (AF, N, \$1,332,000, 24 mos.); William M. Fairbank (AF, \$25,000, 18 mos.); Theodore H. Geballe (AF, \$94,797, 10 mos.); Stephen E. Harris (AF, A, N, \$216,000, 12 mos.); Arthur L. Schawlow (A,

\$60,000, 24 mos.); Sebastian Doniach (A, \$105,718, 24 mos.); Walter A. Harrison (A, \$24,613, 12 mos.); Howard H. Pattee (N, \$18,655, 12 mos.); Bertram A. Auld (N, \$35,000, 12 mos.); Mitchell Weissbluth (N, \$15,000, 12 mos.); John H. Shaw (N, \$33,859, 12 mos.); Richard H. Pantell (N, \$15,000, 4 mos.).

Named for William Hansen, former professor of physics, who in 1937 persuaded then President Ray Lyman Wilbur to provide the Varian brothers, Russel and Sigurd, with campus research facilities. Varian developed the klystron tube, essential in radar, at Stanford, later set up their own firm. Hansen labs now comprised of 2 parts: high energy physics lab which contains a small scale linear accelerator and microwave labs which, while directed by Prof. Edward Ginzton, developed the medical linear accelerator used in cancer treatment, now commercially known as Clinac. It is distributed nationally by Varian Assoc., where Ginzton is now Chairman of the Board.

13 Computer science Subtotal DOD: \$44,000
George E. Forsythe (N, \$44,000, 12 mos.).

14 Communications Subtotal DOD: \$137,955
Nathan Maccoby (N, \$137,955, 24 mos.).

15 Psychiatry Subtotal DOD: \$64,861
Seymour Levine (N, \$43,971, 12 mos.); Jack Barchas (N, \$20,890, 14 mos.).

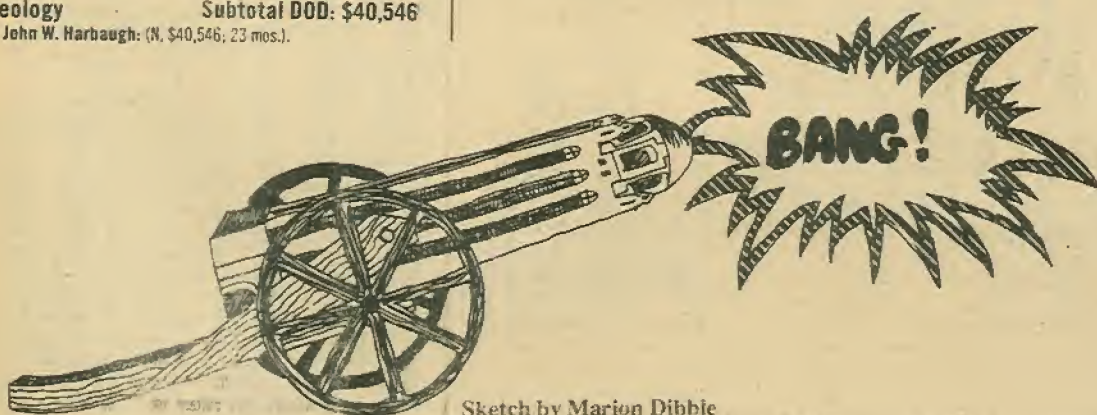
16 Preventive medicine Subtotal DOD: \$111,011
Rodney R. Beard (A, \$24,999, 9 mos.); Quentin M. Geiman (A, \$86,012, 12 mos.).

17 Surgery Subtotal DOD: \$100,600
Heinrich W. Rose (AF, \$63,374, 24 mos.); Earl D. Schubert (N, \$37,226, 12 mos.).

18 Teaching & Research Subtotal: \$1,505,334

Advance Research Projects Agency Subtotal DOD: \$1,405,000

Robert A. Huggins (ARPA, \$1,405,000, 12 mos.).
Includes Advance Research Projects Agency, a Pentagon planning agency, see Ransom p. 5.



Sketch by Marion Dibble

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SACRAMENTO

DIXON

FAIRFIELD

PITTSBURG

STOCKTON

CONCORD

BENICIA

PORT CHICAGO

SAN RAMON

LIVERMORE

SAN LEANDRO

ALAMEDA

OAKLAND

EMERYVILLE

BERKELEY

SAUSALITO

TREASURE ISLAND

SAN FRANCISCO

CORTE MADERA

RICHMOND

PINOLE

NOVATO

SKAGGS ISLAND

MARE ISLAND

PETALUMA

HAMILTON AFB

TWO ROCK RANCH STATION

Map design: Marion Dibble
Research & interviews: Julia Cheever, Peter Petrakis, Stuart Bronstein, Bruce Bruggmann, Dale Rosen, Leslie Waddell, Steve Weeks

S.F. Bay Naval Shipyard
Naval School Command
Aries Corp
 information systems: \$255,000

U.S. Naval Radio Station, Skaggs Island

Syston-Donner Corp.
 computer, test instruments: \$2,335,000
Naval Weapons Station
 main ammunition depot for Indochina

Hercules Inc. (35)
 rocket & artillery propellants, explosives, missiles, herbicides

IBM
 \$47,000 (see San Jose)
Laboratory for Electronics, Inc.
 radar, navigation, computer, test instruments: \$935,000
Standard Oil of Calif. (42)
 huge jet fuel production, 438,000
Marwa's Steel Co.
 \$12,283,000

University of California (see map on page 12)
 academic monopoly on nuclear weapons research
Lawrence Radiation Lab (see map on page 12)
 second largest university subcontractor with the AEC,
Cutter Laboratories
 plague vaccine, plasma, pharmaceuticals: \$1,773,000

H. Koch & Sons Inc.
 aircraft, parts and equipment: \$5,244,000

Schoonmaker Co.
 electrical generators, engine parts: \$9,226,000

Shell Oil
 jet fuel, petroleum: \$834,000

Ft. Cronkite (Army)
Ft. Barry (Army)
Ft. Baker (Army)

Naval Schools Command
Naval Station

Alameda Naval Air Station
 wants 95 more acres of bay for aircraft carrier facilities
Pacific Coast Engineering Co.

URS
 computer technology: \$429,000

Five huge defense contractors own broadcast stations
 General Tire owns KERC Kaiser owns Ch. 44, KFOG, RCA owns NBC, the KRON affiliate, part of Chron/Ex monopoly, Avco owns KYA, KOIT, Westinghouse owns Ch. 5

Bank of America
 6 branches in Vietnam, 5 in Thailand

Ft. Mason (Army)
S.F. Bay Naval Shipyard, Hunters Point

S.F. Bay Naval Shipyard
Naval School Command
Aries Corp
Information systems: \$255,000

Hamilton AFB

U.S. Naval Radio Station, Skaggs Island

Syston-Donner Corp.
computer, test instruments: \$2,335,000
Naval Weapons Station
main ammunition depot for Indochina

Hercules Inc. (35)
rocket & artillery propellants, explosives, missiles,
herbicides

IBM	\$47,000 (see San Jose)
Laboratory for Electronics, Inc.	radar, navigation, computer, test instruments; \$935,000
Standard Oil of Calif. (42)	huge jet fuel production, 438,000
Marwais Steel Co.	\$12,283,000

University of California (see map on page 12)
academic monopoly on nuclear weapons research

Lawrence Radiation Lab (see map on page 12)
second largest university subcontractor with the AEC,

Cutter Laboratories
plague vaccine, plasma, pharmaceuticals: \$11-773,000

Schoonmaker Co.
electrical generators, engine parts: \$9,226,000

Ft. Cronkite (Army)
Ft. Barry (Army)
Ft. Baker (Army)

Five huge defense contractors own, broadcast stations
General Tire owns KFRC Kaiser owns Ch. 44, KRCR
RCA owns NBC, the KRON affiliate, part of
Chron/Ex monopoly, Avco owns KYA, KOIT,
Westinghouse owns Ch. 5

Bank of America
6 branches in Vietnam, 5 in Thailand

Ft. Mason (Army)
S.F. Bay Naval Shipyard, Hunters Point
(Residing of Sam Francisco (Army))

Alameda Naval Air Station
wants 95 more acres of bay for
aircraft carrier facilities
Pacific Coast Engineering Co.
navy landing craft: \$365,000

URS
computer technology: \$429,000

H. Koch & Sons Inc.
aircraft, parts and equipment: \$5,244,000

Schoonmaker Co.
electrical generators, engine parts: \$9,226,000

Shell Oil
jet fuel, petroleum : \$834,000

SAN FRANCISCO

**Naval Schools Command
Naval Station**

TREASURE ISLAND

ALAMEDA

SAN LEANDRO

LIVERMORE

General Tire & Rubber
(see San Ramon)
McClelland AFB
Sacramento Army Depot

Naval Security Group Activity

Pan-American
flies troops out of Travis, flies the bodies back
Travis AFB

U.S. Arsenal
Yuba Industries Inc.
\$2,736,000

Port Chicago
major navy port for napalm, ammo, explosives: navy forced town to relocate to keep material moving safely

Dow Chemical Co.
herbicides, napalm, aluminum landing mats, chemicals; \$32,000

Naval Biological Laboratory
CBW research under Cal administration
Rucker Co.
hydraulic equipment, test instruments: \$34,000

Port of Oakland
major port for Vietnam supplies

Oakland Induction Center
major West Coast induction center

Oakland Army Base
major processing base to and from Vietnam

Naval hospital
prosthetics hospital for amputees

Naval Supply Center
major West Coast military supply base

Western Lumber Sales Inc.
material handling pallets; \$192,000

General Tire & Rubber(26)
missiles, mines, nuclear rockets, aircraft parts, rifle
parts, bomb casings: \$741,000
M & B Associates
research & development: \$1,232,000

Physics International Co.
nuclear tests: \$7,843,000
Aladdin Heating Corp.
\$49,000

Sandia Laboratory (AEC)

General Electric Co.
\$866,000 (see Santa Clara)

6 branches in Vietnam, 5 in Thailand
Ft. Mason (Army)
S.F. Bay Naval Shipyard, Hunters Point
Presidio of San Francisco (Army)
Dillingham Corp.
 military airfield/ harbor, Sattalip, Thailand
Bechtel Corp.
 builder of bigger and better bases
Defense Contract Services Administration
 manages 12,000 DOD contracts, total \$1.9 billion, for 9 Western states
Letterman Hospital
 (major hospital, rehabilitation center, for war wounded)
Port of San Francisco
 major port for Vietnam supplies

Litton Industries
 \$6,247,000 (see Sunnyvale)
Varian Associates
 military electronics; \$5,866,000
Lenkurt Electric Co. Inc.
 electronics, communications systems; \$9,451,000

Port of Redwood City
 leased its land in 1966 for a major napalm plant, now defunct
Amplex Corp.
 magnetic tape, video equipment, recording equipment; \$6,522,000

Stanford Research Institute (see map on page 8)
Zenith Radio Corp.
 communications, electronic equipment; \$814,000

Hoover Institute of War & Revolution (see map, on page 9)
Itek Corp.
 \$23,559,000
Stanford Industrial Park (see map, page 8)
Stanford Linear Accelerator (see map on page 9)
Stanford University (see map on page 8)
Watkins-Johnson Co.
 electronics; \$7,682,000

Fairchild-Hiller(43)
 electronic countermeasures, jets; \$685,000
Sylvania
 missile control systems, military computer systems, electronic parts; \$45,153,000
Kaiser Industries(45)
 aircraft & missile components, trucks, landing mats, electronics, bulk metals, cement

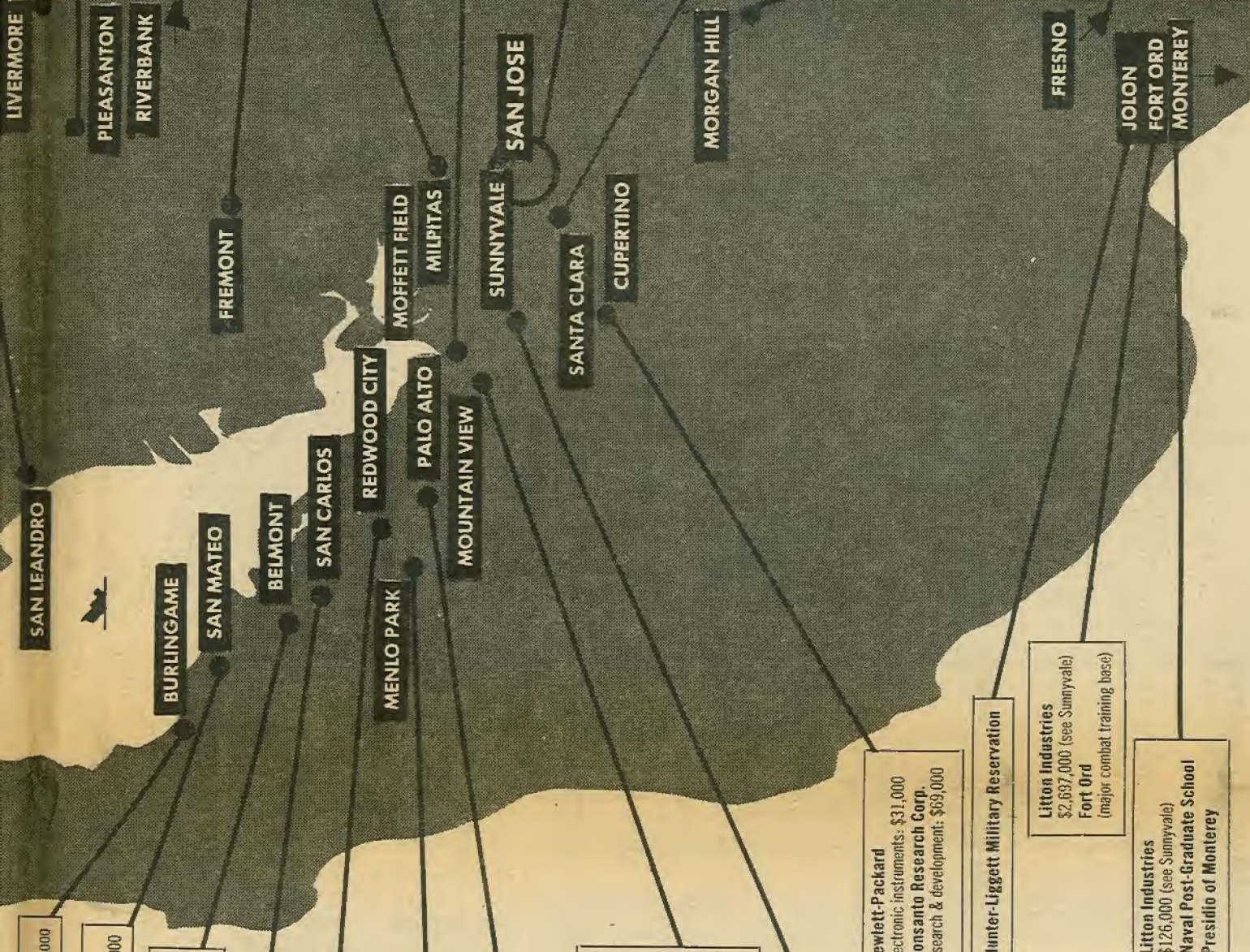
Control Data Corp.(88)
 computer systems; \$777,000
Data Dynamics Inc.
 computer programming; \$443,000
ESL Inc.
 computer & communications technology; \$896,000
Litton Industries(21)
 navigation systems, nuclear submarines missile systems, aircraft; \$42,000
Lockheed Aircraft(11)
 missiles, aircraft; \$791,982,000
Midwest Research Institute
 research & development; \$113,000
Singer Co.(58)
 missiles, guidance systems, electronics; \$379,000
United Aircraft Corp.(5)
 aircraft engines, missiles, electronics, helicopters; \$46,641,000
Westinghouse Electric Corp.(15)
 airborne countermeasures, sonar, missile equipment, nuclear propulsion, radar; \$39,278,000

Hewlett-Packard
 electronic instruments; \$31,000
Monsanto Research Corp.
 research & development; \$69,000

Hunter-Liggett Military Reservation

Litton Industries
 \$2,637,000 (see Sunnyvale)
Fort Ord
 (major combat training base)

Litton Industries
 \$1126,000 (see Sunnyvale)
Naval Post-Graduate School
Presidio of Monterey



General Electric Co.
 \$866,000 (see Santa Clara)
Lockheed Aircraft Corp.
 \$335,000 (see Sunnyvale)
Parks AFB (inactive)
Norris Industries(33)
 ammunition, rocket motor tubes, rocket launchers, bombs; \$37,383,000
General Motors(10)
 tanks, armored vehicles, jet engines, artillery, M-16 rifles
Ford Motor(19)
 missiles, aircraft equipment, telecommunications, trucks
Ames Research Center
Moffett Field Naval Air Station
U. S. National Aero Space Agency
 research & development; \$365,000

FMC(32)
 missiles, missile launchers, gun mounts, personnel carriers, OBW weapons, armor, landing craft; \$6,262,000
Filters Inc.
 \$335,000
IBM(27)
 data processing equipment, electronics; \$2,424,000

FMC
 \$82,513,000 (see San Jose)
General Electric Co.(2)
 jet engines, missiles, electronics, aircraft armament; \$48,000
IBM
 \$75,000 (see San Jose)
Philco-Ford Corp.(19)
 aircraft equipment, missiles, telecommunications; \$33,000

Olin Corp.(20)
 rocket, propellants, ammunition, projectiles, grenades, rifles

FMC
 \$466,000 (see San Jose) a)

Top 1969 National Defense Contractors

- 1 Lockheed Aircraft
- 2 General Electric
- 3 General Dynamics
- 4 McDonnell Douglas
- 5 United Aircraft
- 6 American Telephone & Telegraph
- 7 Ling — Tempco — Vought
- 8 North American Rockwell
- 9 Boeing
- 10 General Motors
- 11 Raytheon
- 12 Sperry Rand
- 13 Avco
- 14 Hughes Aircraft
- 15 Westinghouse Electric
- 16 Textron
- 17 Grumman

- 18 Honeywell
- 19 Ford Motor Company
- 20 Olin Corp.
- 21 Litton Industries
- 22 Teledyne
- 23 RCA
- 24 Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey
- 25 Martin Marietta
- 26 General Tire and Rubber
- 27 International Business Machines
- 28 Raytheon — Morrison — Knudson
- 29 International Telephone & Telegraph
- 30 Tenneco
- 31 E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co.
- 32 FMC Corp.
- 33 Norris Industries
- 34 Bendix

- 406,000,000
- 396,000,000
- 354,000,000
- 317,000,000
- 308,000,000
- 299,000,000
- 291,000,000
- 264,000,000
- 264,000,000
- 257,000,000
- 254,000,000
- 238,000,000
- 237,000,000
- 212,000,000
- 196,000,000
- 188,000,000
- 184,000,000
- 406,000,000
- 396,000,000
- 354,000,000
- 317,000,000
- 308,000,000
- 299,000,000
- 291,000,000
- 264,000,000
- 264,000,000
- 257,000,000
- 254,000,000
- 238,000,000
- 237,000,000
- 212,000,000
- 196,000,000
- 188,000,000
- 184,000,000
- 180,000,000
- 179,000,000
- 174,000,000
- 170,000,000
- 167,000,000
- 156,000,000
- 152,000,000
- 149,000,000
- 146,000,000
- 142,000,000
- 140,000,000
- 138,000,000
- 132,000,000
- 132,000,000
- 130,000,000

- 35 Hercules, Inc.
- 36 Northrop
- 37 Unroyal
- 38 TRW
- 39 Pan American World Airways
- 40 Asiatic Petroleum Corp.
- 41 Mobil Oil
- 42 Standard Oil Co. of California
- 43 Fairchild Hiller
- 44 Collins Radio
- 45 Kaiser Industries
- 46 General Telephone & Electronics
- 47 Day & Zimmerman
- 48 Texas Instruments
- 49 Federal Cartridge
- 50 Magnavox

Source: Dept. of Defense

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SOURCES:

Note: Top 100 DOD contractors designated by rank in parenthesis behind firm on map. Check with adjoining Top 100 list.

- (1) "Top 100 Defense Contractors Announced" (Fiscal Year 1969), Defense Industry Bulletin for Dept. of Defense by Defense Supply Agency, Dec. 1, 1969
- (2) Dept. of Defense — Prime Contractors Which Received Awards of \$10,000 or More, California, Fiscal Year 1969
- (3) Dept. of Defense, Bay Area Small Businesses with contracts of \$5,000,000 or over
- (4) California Defense Installations, Congressional Quarterly, May 24, 1968, pp. 1168-1171
- (5) Telephone checks
- (6) Government Contracts Directory, Standard and Poor, Moody's

Note: Only those contractors listed in Reference (1) were looked up in Reference (2). Thus, many smaller contractors and subcontractors in the Bay Area were excluded, except in the case of a few smaller contractors found in Reference (3). Contracts listed were given to local firms or national firms with local branches. They are not the totals for the national firms.

BERKELEY

Know your local defense contractor

Berkeley Key

Dept. of Defense, AEC and Coast Guard contracts and grants awarded June 30, 1968, to March 30, 1970: listed by UC department, investigator and amount.

Compiled from the Departmental List of Contract and Grant Awards, FY 1968/69 and the Monthly Listing of Awards, FY 1969/70, available in the Campus Research Office.

Amounts do not necessarily represent the full contract amount.

Symbols: A, Army
AEC, Atomic Energy Commission
AF, Air Force
ARPA, Advanced Research Projects Agency (see Ransom, p. 5)
DASA, Defense Atomic Support Agency
DOD, Dept. of Defense
LRL, Lawrence Radiation Lab.
N, Navy

1 Lawrence Radiation Lab.

From its commanding 125-acre perch on the ridge of the Berkeley hills, the RadLab dominates the rest of the campus (178 acres).

The AEC funds the Lab's \$100 million facilities and 3,150 scientists and technicians with a \$37 million annual budget.

LRL also maintains a \$9.5 million laboratory in Mercury, Nev., adjacent to the AEC's underground nuclear test site. Consistent with University policy, the RadLab does no classified research on its campus facilities. But it does provide a peaceful, unclassified facade for Livermore's nuclear weapons research.

2 Los Alamos Scientific Lab.

In 1942, the War Dept. needed a separate laboratory to design and build the Bomb. Gen. Leslie R. Groves picked a young, UC physics professor (Robert J. Oppenheimer) as director, the Los Alamos Ranch School as the site and the University of California as the secret procurer of supplies and facilities.

According to the L.A. Times' West magazine (Mar. 1, 1970), "The best evidence is that Groves originally wanted university management as a cover to preserve the secrecy of the project."

The University grudgingly accepted the commission, assured that the Lab would be transferred to the Army "when it came time to build the actual weapons." West continued, "The transfer was never made."

"Today," West's Stuart Loory reported, "many of the original Manhattan project cadre are still on the job and some are even introducing sons to the weapons work in the laboratories."

"At present, 4,283 employees of the laboratory receive UC paychecks. The people here are very jealous about saying they work for the University of California and not the Atomic Energy Commission," (Los Alamos PR man William Regan) said. "This is a research facility, academically oriented."

But Los Alamos' annual \$97 million budget is wholly funded by AEC and, if you include fundamental research paid for by AEC's Division of Weapons Applications as weapons R&D, then the Lab spends 70 per cent of its annual budget on weaponry and only 30 per cent for basic research and peaceful purposes.

3 Livermore Radiation Lab.

Livermore, an integral unit of LRL funded by AEC, occupies 700 acres in Livermore, Ca., as well as research facilities at Coral Hollow in the San Joaquin Valley and at the AEC's Nevada Test Site.

Livermore spends \$121 million a year, largely in nuclear research and design, and employs 5,800 workers, outstripping Los Alamos in size and scope. Livermore was originally set up at the behest of Ernest O. Lawrence (who invented the cyclotron) and Edward Teller (who resigned from Los Alamos in the early 1950's because its director, Norris E. Bradbury, wasn't moving fast enough to suit Teller on the H-bomb).

Livermore officially describes its major activities as research on "nuclear weapons, nuclear ramjet propulsion reactors, controlled thermonuclear reactions and biomedicine."

Livermore, even more than Los Alamos, demonstrates the incestuous relationship between UC-administered facilities and the Defense Dept. Livermore has become the main recruiting ground for the post of DOD chief scientist-engineer. Three Livermore directors, Herbert F. York, Dr. Harold Brown and John S. Foster, jumped in quick succession from the Lab to the Pentagon. Dr. Glenn Seaborg, former UC/Berkeley chancellor, is chairman of the AEC, but in the Berkeley catalog he is still listed as professor of chemistry.

4 Naval Biological Lab.

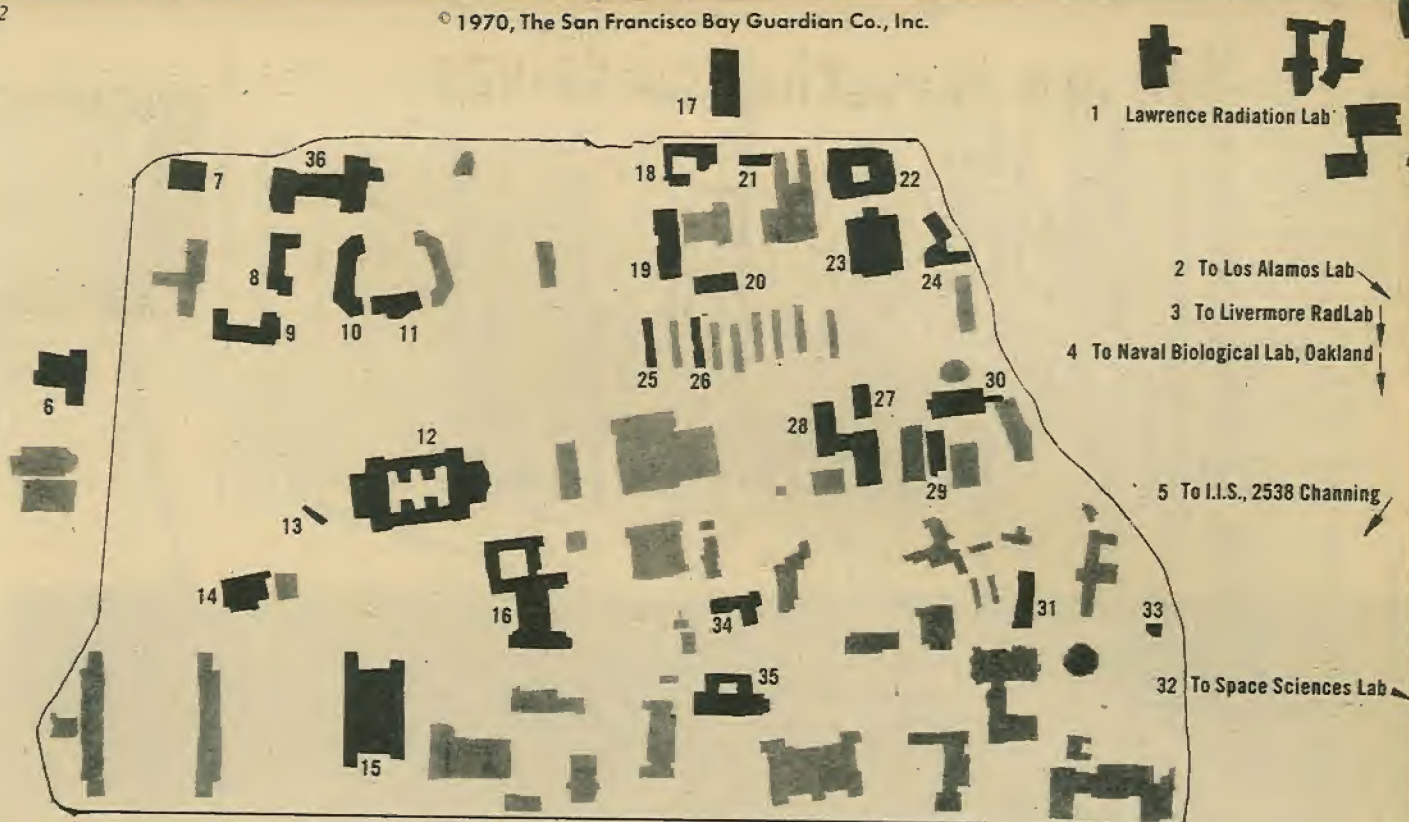
Public health (Naval Biological Lab.)

Subtotal DOD: \$4,054,711

N. Vedros (N, \$2,973,401); N. Vedros & W. Reeves (N, \$317,810); W. Reeves (N, \$600,000); W. Reeves & S. Madin, (N, \$163,500).

The Naval Biological Laboratory (NBL) is a research installation administered by the UC School of Public Health and funded by the Office of Naval Research. Sequestered behind barbed wire at the Oakland Naval Supply Center, NBL supports a staff of some 100 Cal scientists and Naval security personnel.

Last year, the Lab spent \$1,795,221 of the Navy's money.



Berkeley campus (Building numbers correspond to list numbers below)

All the nuclear weapons produced by the U.S. — the Atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the big ones, the little ones, the clean ones, the dirty ones — were designed and built by workers at Los Alamos, Livermore and Jackass Flatts receiving paychecks from the University of California.

All the tens of millions of dollars the AEC spends each year on research and development of nuclear weapons are channeled through the University Hall office of Greame C. Bannerman, vice-president of the University for business and finance.

A select Regents' committee, with special Q clearances, oversees this vast atomic R & D stretching over facilities in three states.

On campus, federal defense agencies fund research in a large number of departments.

Of Berkeley's \$47,274,785 budget in FY 1969, the AEC contributed \$916,628, the Air Force \$1,552,459, the Army \$708,017 and the Navy \$3,302,836.

Robert A. Scalapino (see DOD list) recently criticized UC's anti-war "reconstitution" at a SF Rotary Club meeting.

"Classes are being corrupted, with instructors talking about subjects concerning which their knowledge is negligible," Scalapino said.

He may have a point: the expertise of many UC professors is not in the field of anti-war work.

6 University Hall

Like Stanford president Kenneth Pitzer, UC president Charles J. Hitch is well trained to preside over the AEC/DOD/NASA contracts that account for well over a quarter of Cal's billion dollar budget. Served as OSS officer during World War II, worked for the Rand Corporation from 1948 to 1961. Wrote his most important book, "Economics of Defense in the Nuclear Age," and other articles so well regarded by the Pentagon that he was appointed Assistant Secretary of Defense (Comptroller). NY Times called him "the biggest spender in the capitalist world."

He is a trustee of the Asia Foundation, a former CIA conduit. His official UC biography doesn't mention it, but Hitch is still a trustee of the Institute for Defense Analysis, according to Who's Who in the West (1969-70.) IDA is a clearinghouse for military research at universities.

University Hall also houses the Regents' offices. Special Regents' committee, euphemistically called "The Committee on Special Projects," oversees AEC nuclear facilities. Committee chairman: Regent John E. Canaday (pr counsel for Lockheed, DOD's no. 1 contractor)

Each committee member holds special Q clearances from AEC, which allows him to inspect the vast library of secrets about the Cal/US nuclear weapons design facilities, huge assembly line and enormous stockpile.

None has — on the premise, according to West Magazine's Stuart Loory, "that they have no need to know the specifics."

Regents once called the group "The Committee on Atomic Projects," but Canaday told Loory that the "growing opposition to this kind of operation" prompted the regents, four years ago, to "minimize that at least by changing to a more general name . . ."

It has never occurred to regents to take the university out of the weapons design business, Lockheed's Canaday said.

Other regents have interesting DOD connections: Edward H. Carter is a director of SRI (see p. 8) and AT&T (DOD supplier ranked No. 6). John H. Lawrence, Reagan's most recent appointee, is director of Donner Lab and associate director of the Lawrence RadLab, named for his brother, Dean A. Watkins, of Stanford/SIP/Watkins-Johnson fame, designed the special test equipment used in the principal research program of the Los Alamos lab. W. Glenn Campbell is director of the Hoover Institution at Stanford (see p. 9). Allan Grant sits on SRI's advisory board.

Besides these corporate/political/regent connections with the War Establishment, regents have heavily invested the university's portfolio in DOD industries. Seven of the 10 largest retirement fund investments are similarly honored, according to a Guardian inspection. In all, nearly 22 per cent of Cal's \$708 million is invested in major defense contractors.

7 Biochemistry

Biochemistry

B. Ames (\$70,162).

Subtotal AEC: \$70,162

8 Morgan

Nutritional sciences Subtotal DOD: \$68,234

H. Olcott (N, \$25,400); E. Nasset (AF, \$42,834).

Subtotal AEC \$8,700

W. Brown (AEC, \$8,700).

9 Mulford

Genetics

Subtotal AEC: \$21,000

J. Fristrom (\$21,000).

10 Hilgard

Soils & plant nutrition Subtotal DOD: \$66,000

R. Schultz (N, \$30,000); R. Overstreet (N, \$33,000); R. Schultz & R. Overstreet (N, \$3,000).

Subtotal AEC: \$182,351

L. Jacobson (\$16,639); P. Day (\$11,178); K. Babcock (\$67,988); R. Overstreet (\$29,778); A. McLaren (\$56,768).

11 Wellman

Entomology

Subtotal AEC: \$27,000

J. Casida (\$27,000).

12 Life Sciences

Botany

Subtotal AEC: \$67,000

D. Branton (\$67,000).

Physiology & anatomy Subtotal AEC: \$93,621

R. Macey (\$30,000); P. Timiras (\$63,621).

White Mountain Res. Station

Subtotal DOD: \$31,337

N. Pace (N, \$31,337).

Zoology

Subtotal DOD: \$16,395

C. Rowell (AF, \$16,395).

Subtotal AEC: \$18,298

Q. Paris (\$18,298).

13 T-19

Naval Biological Lab, Medical Unit No. 1 (see 4 on map)

14 Callaghan

Naval science

Subtotal DOD: \$18,349

L. Fields (N, \$8,349); E. Kerr (N, \$10,000).

15 Harmon Gym

Military Sciences, Military Sci. Armory, Aerospace Studies

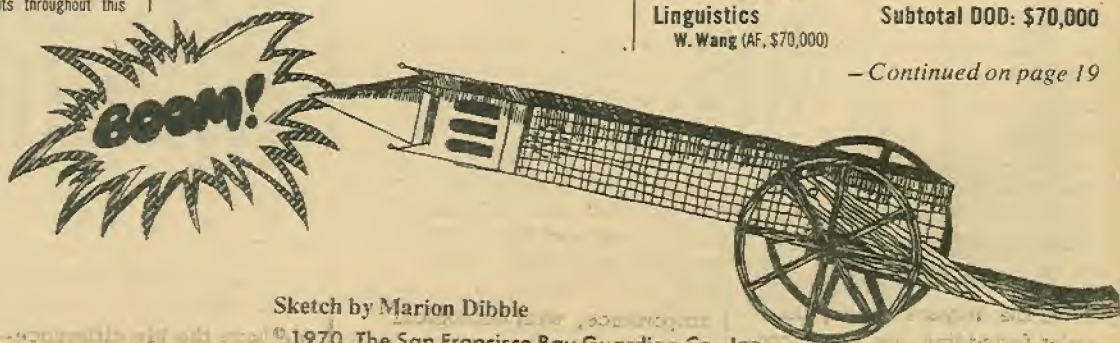
16 Dwinelle

Linguistics

Subtotal DOD: \$70,000

W. Wang (AF, \$70,000)

—Continued on page 19



Sketch by Marion Dibble

'We are devouring ourselves'

At the end of the Second World War, the British poet-novelist-pathologist-physician Alex Comfort said in a letter to me that The Bomb was only a symptom, the superficial eruption of the deep-seated and pervasive American sickness. And, he said further, paraphrasing Voltaire's remarks about the deity, that if the Americans had not invented it, it would have been necessary for God, if there is a God, to have created it for them.

For years I have said that something has gone terribly wrong: Bolshevik and Nazi terror across Europe, the Moscow Trials, the Spanish War and Second War, the extermination of the Jews, Gypsies and Volga Germans—an unassimilable ethnic group in the Crimea and Caucasus, the firebombing of Hamburg and Dresden, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Americans of Japanese ancestry in concentration camps where they certainly would have been exterminated if the U.S. had begun to lose the war. What a record. It is hard to convince people that it is unparalleled in history.

Now the human race has started to devour itself, not in wars between nations or between groups cut off from each other by ethnic, class or caste divisions, but within the normal structure of a properly functioning society. When things are going normally, the old and the young, students on one side and their parents and professors on another, should not be engaged in civil war. Each group is part of the hierarchical structure of a smoothly functioning society overriding economic, social, even racial antagonisms.

KENNETH REXROTH

Yet what do we see? What we see is madness. All over the world there is rising up a psychotic hatred of the young, of incredible virulence and violence. So deep seated and far reaching, it can be diagnosed only as a symptom of the death of the species.

Generations

There is a theory that the great reptiles died out because they had no mechanism for warming their blood as the marshes chilled around them in the period of volcanic eruptions and earthquakes at the end of the Jurassic, their sperm and egg cells became infertile from the cold.

Contemporary evidence, extrapolated backwards from the behavior of the human species, indicates that the dinosaurs did not die because of chilly balls—they ate their eggs.

Inquiring reporter

The inquiring reporter in Kent, whose story went out over the wires, discovered that the townspeople approved of the massacre by 90 per cent. Most thought the guard should have killed more students; none showed any sympathy or understanding with the students whatever, even if they didn't approve of killing them. These are their own sons and daughters.

In Santa Barbara, I have met no one except intellectuals who did not believe the shooting at

Kent was just the medicine California needs. I point out that the four killed at Kent were almost certainly innocent bystanders, none were militants and only one knew any militants; that Kevin Moran at Santa Barbara was a convinced advocate of non-violence, leading the group trying to cool the scene.

"It doesn't make any difference," the response replied, "What of it? They shouldn't have been there in the first place. They should have been back in their rooms, studying their lessons. If we shoot a few more of them, maybe these dope crazy, sex crazy punks and hippies will learn their lesson."

Laios complex

The giveaway is the word "kids." When the graduate students at M.I.T. joined en bloc the recent demonstration there, the New York Times referred to them as "children." Can't you see them marching up to receive their Ph.D.'s on tricycles and scooters, carrying sand pails and shovels, rubber dolls and teddy bears?

This is the other side of the Oedipus complex, the Laios complex. Up until now I have always thought that Freud's idea that sometime in the earliest beginnings of man all the sons killed off all the fathers, thereby permanently injuring the brains of the human race, was just the nutty idea of an eccentric headshrinker who'd been treating too many Viennese rich women and freaky counts.

I don't know. Maybe it did happen as a mass derangement of the species back at the beginnings of human history because it's sure as hell happening in reverse now.

Certainly, the war of the young against the old demonstrates a psychological, or if you will, an esthetic, breaking point in human ecology. Society breaks down for subjective reasons all over the world whatever the social system long before the supplies of food and other necessities have reached a limit.

Misled by the chaos close to home, we might think the breakdown is most severe where the affluence is greatest, but this is not true. We just don't notice it unless it gets a lot of publicity because it is involved in the geopolitical struggles of the big powers. China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Congo, Nigeria. Mountains of dead are piling up around the world.

Genocide

True, the first 250 million dead in the Indonesian counter-revolution can be laid at the door of the C.I.A., but the Indonesians didn't have to take C.I.A. arms, money and expertise. In Cambodia the C.I.A. mercenaries turned on the Vietnamese population (most of whom were anti-North Vietnam, which is why they were in Cambodia) and launched a campaign of small scale genocide—against their allies. In fact the massacre of the Cambodians of Vietnamese race seems the only effective shooting they have done.

This of course demonstrates that the C.I.A. is run by ignorant fools, but we knew that already. What it further demonstrates is that one of the most peaceable peoples on earth are capable of a murderous insanity no different than that of the Germans, Russians or Americans.

How are the youth of Western Civilization going to counter the ever increasing self-genocide of their elders? They aren't. The old have the big difference—as

—Continued on page 15



Even San Francisco's electricity, it turns out, is making a contribution to the Indochina war effort.

Instead of San Francisco selling San Francisco power to San Francisco citizens, as federal law and the City Charter require, the city is peddling its power to several outside manufacturers including three major war industries. The breakdown:

Norris Industries (ammunition, rockets, rocket launchers, rocket motor tubes, bombs), \$188,000,000 in 1969 company DOD contracts. The Riverbank branch gets 61,000,000 kilowatt-hours of SF power.

Hercules, Inc. (rocket and artillery propellants, explosives, missiles, herbicides), \$180,000,000 in 1969 DOD contracts. The Pinole branch gets 112,000,000 kilowatt hours of SF power.

Kaiser Industries (electronics, trucks, landing mats, bulk metals), \$142,000,000 in 1969 DOD contracts. The Santa Cruz branch got 200,000,000 kilowatt-hours of SF power.

The reason: the city has allowed PG&E to establish an illegal private power monopoly here. The city is forced to peddle its power at PG&E caprice. See previous Guardians.

Well, well. The Chronicle of May 28 has the "PG&E Weekend Trout Forecast," brought from such piscatorial outposts as Yuba-Bear Rivers, Cow-Battle Creeks and Kaweah River by PG&E scouts" reporting "from the scene." Later that night comes the weather on KRON, Chron's television subsidiary, brought to us by PG&E.

Meanwhile, we must look in vain in the local media for intelligence on what PG&E is really up to: which is, of late, strategic moves on several fronts to bottle up public power in Northern California and keep its expensive private power monopoly dominant. PG&E has:

(1) Quietly blocked a small HUD grant to 11 public power cities in Northern California. The cities wanted to study how they could obtain more power without becoming dependent on PG&E's expensive private power.

(2) Helped draft and push a state constitutional revision proposal (Proposition 3, see editorial) that would disembowel the State PUC and would make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for a public agency (read SF) to acquire the property of a private utility (read PG&E).

(3) Lobbied intensively for the Bagley bill (A.B. 908) in the State Legislature that would tax the public for the use of their own public utilities.

Note: this PG&E hanky panky is extensively reported in the Sacramento Bee and the San Jose Mercury-News, but it is blacked out locally by the Ex/Chron. For example: Sen. Hart's subcommittee on anti-trust and monopoly has started an important investigation into the HUD affair and PG&E's anti-competitive practices in Northern California. Much in the Bee, not a word here.

Further example: Peter Petrakis, the Guardian's utilities editor, went before the City PUC and recommended that San Francisco order a study to determine the feasibility of acquiring PG&E's SF distribution system. The PUC approved the Guardian proposal unanimously and retained R.W. Beck & Co. to make the study—the first serious move in 30 years against fortress PG&E. Not a word in the Chron, only a short Examiner story two weeks late in a short article, buried, loaded with omissions and inaccuracies.

Back to point 3 and the Bagley bill. The background: the bill was drafted in early 1969 by the legal staff for Southern California Edison. It would impose a 14 per cent state tax on gross revenues of California public utilities. It is now part of a nationwide attack on public power led by private utilities, focusing on California.

Leading the attack is the Edison Electric Institute, the lobby for private utilities in Washington, with Mortimer Kaplan, former IRS head, as head. (Curiously, the institute is not registered as a lobby, even though it lobbied successfully with PG&E to kill the HUD application.)

The bill would put the squeeze on San Francisco because it would tempt the city's prime power customers, the Turlock and Modesto Irrigation Districts, to buy PG&E power and leave San Francisco without a wholesale market. (The bill would allow T&M, for example, to make tax deductions on the wholesale purchase of power from PG&E.)

Or San Francisco would have to substantially lower its wholesale price and further deplete its already meager earnings (\$3.8 million annually on a capital investment of nearly \$300 million) because it won't move against PG&E and develop its rightful SF retail market.

Either way, San Francisco will lose big money. But most important, the effect of this legislation would set the stage for PG&E's real strategy: to put the pressure on, financially, for the city to abandon the power business altogether. PG&E to the rescue!

The Raker Act, the "Magna Carta of Public Power," would then become what PG&E has always wanted it to be: an enabling act to create, at public expense, a capital investment for PG&E inside Yosemite National Park.

P.S. The most dismaying performance to date: Bill Symons, one of Gov. Reagan's pro-private-utility PUC appointees, complained at hearings that Bagley's bill doesn't go far enough. The "parasitical societies" (Symon's phrase) that build and operate their own water systems should be taxed too. Bagley reassured him: "This is only the beginning."

—Continued on page 14

JACK MORRISON

The Shames of San Francisco

In the fields of water pollution and housing, San Francisco is getting its long-delayed come-uppance.

Until recently, the fouling of the Bay went on in a climate of official complacency. And the callous refusal to adopt a housing policy to meet the needs of low-income people is certainly, as a citizens' task force recently called it, the shame of San Francisco.

The Regional Water Quality Control Board's clean-up orders have been temporarily thwarted, but only after a hard fight and the giving of a good many hostages. It is now clear that City Hall will have to worry about the purity of Bay waters. Perhaps we shall see a narrowing of the gap between ecological pronouncement and performance.

It took the sharp check administered by the regional board to jar our officialdom wide awake. Mayors, supervisors and city engineers have long grown aloof, almost disdainful, in the face of repeated cease-and-desist orders. The sheer magnitude of the problem eroded the will to act.

After all, it would take \$2 billion to build a separate drain system to prevent rain water from flushing into the sewer network and washing raw wastes into the Bay. To talk about spending that much seemed lunatic. Our officials shrugged and turned away. Only in the last two years could they be brought haltingly to work.

City Hall Spectacle

In the mayor's office, the order forbidding new sewer connections was a karate chop on a

sensitive ganglion. The Mayor plumes himself on his efforts to encourage new buildings and construction jobs. He sprang to the fray. A KQED television reporter spoke of his "bravura performance" when he went before the regional board to plead and threaten.

A measure of sympathy with the Mayor is in order. He had to take on a problem built by the negligence of many over a long time. Yet, storm warnings had been up throughout his term.

At times, Alioto has appeared bored with the day-to-day, foot-slogging job of administering San Francisco affairs. But a crisis galvanizes him into frenetic effort, especially if it requires advocacy and forensic maneuver as did the water pollution and housing issues. We lunge from one bravura performance to another—from City Hall to Sacramento to Washington and back.

It's a lively spectacle, but no valid substitute for rational planning. There was nothing inevitable about either crisis. Each could have been avoided. These days, it takes City Hall a long time to get the heft of an issue.

But first you must recognize an issue when you see one. So far, the Mayor and the Supervisors seem still blind to the issue of Yerba Buena redevelopment South of Market. Adverse court orders and administrative rulings are met by a stubborn digging in of heels. Yerba Buena is a social issue of major importance, with ecological

Conversation with Lasolfa

By Wilbur Wood

Our brotherhood maintains centers in the countryside and in the City. In back valleys we grow vegetables and fruit, and in the hills marijuana, under glass if we can avoid detection from the air. We supply our brothers in the City with food and clean water.

The air our brothers in the City breathe is the price they pay to go on with our work, which cannot be carried out in the countryside alone.

If only the City could strangle and rot independent of the rivers and the forests! But we know nothing in this universe exists independent of anything else. We inhabit a vast living organism, and the City is a life system inside that organism, and all life systems are interdependent: the life system of the countryside supports the City, and the life system of the City returns its vitality--or in the case of this planet, its poisons and wasted energy--to the countryside.

We know there are planets where the cities are arranged like eyes, on plateaus open to the full light of the planet's Sun. In the center of each city (the pupil of the eye) a pyramid temple with solar mirrors

all these processes, these filters between the sun-energized orange and the sun-depleted man, most of the energy has leaked out of the orange before it reaches the man.

Our brotherhood knows of certain highly evolved people, in the Far East but also in the West, who neither eat nor drink, but sustain themselves on air and light alone.

How far are these remarkable beings from the mechanical men and women, jarred out of their separate dreams by alarmclocks, stumbling to the bathroom, dressing hurriedly, gulping their pills and instant coffee; they emerge into sunlight frowning, climb into their cars, start the poisonous engines, drive separately to work...

"Sometimes I feel like someone from another planet," Lasolfa says. I know what he means.

Lasolfa is not one of our brotherhood, he is a leader of the Park People.

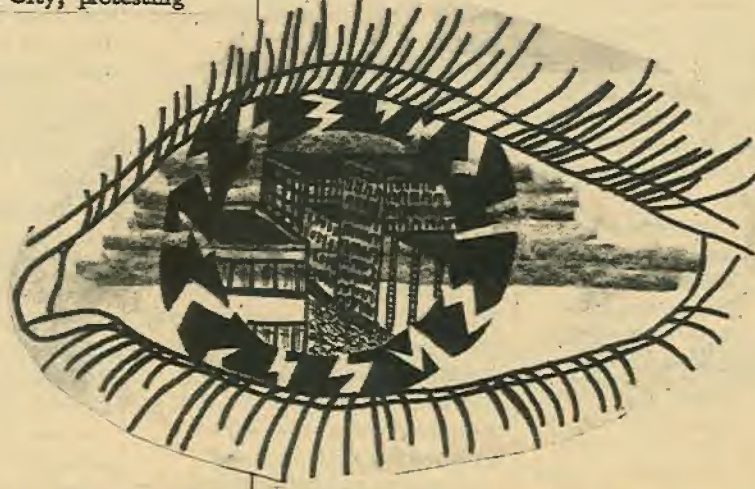
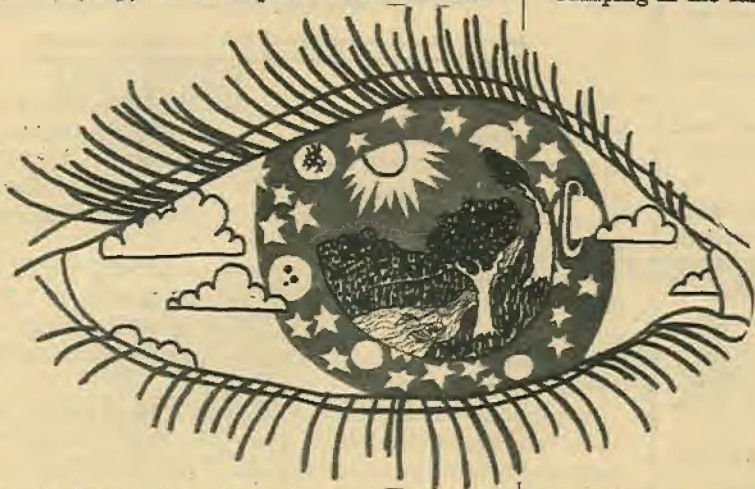
For the last year, thousands of people have been camping in the larger parks of the City, protesting

"Above these new Plazas the apartment-dwellers are of course hollering out their windows, demanding to know what's going on, threatening to call the police--"

"But the phones are dead," I say.

"Right," says Lasolfa. "We invite the people in the apartments to join us in our work," he continues, "and some of them slam their windows and lock their doors, but others do come down."

"In our Plazas we hand them slices of homemade bread and homemade preserves, cups of ginseng tea; then they discover rakes and hoes in their soft hands, and talk is being made as to where's the best location to plant the Block Garden; there is music, of course, and your sisters and brothers can do those special dances that hypnotize everyone, and your 'mystery-priests' can APPLY their knowledge and instruct the rest of us how to install solar mirrors on our roofs, and convert Sun to electricity for our refrigerators and guitars..."



and telescopic lenses: the mirrors by day drinking in energy and radiating power throughout the city and the surrounding countryside; the telescopes by night investigating other Suns. This is one place we visit often in our dreams.

But we wake up in these bodies, on this planet. Passage from place to place here is more difficult. Even back roads out of this state are watched, by border patrol airplanes. Our drivers must disguise themselves, our vans must appear to be normal commercial vehicles.

Despite the frequent inspections at the bridges leading into the City, only a tiny percentage of our food and springwater is confiscated by police.

We suspect some policemen take this food and water home to their families (after television announcers have assured the people who watch television that "another smuggled shipment of sub-standard food and impure water was seized and disposed of by authorities today"). We know some policemen sell this food and water to the Park People.

Often at dawn my friend Lasolfa and I are sitting among opening flowers on a hillside in the City. The first rays of light contain great energy, and certain movements and breathing exercises known to us can bring Sun-power streaming through our bodies.

Food and water, air and sunlight, are media containing energy. A man needs access to these media in order to survive.

But the forms of the current civilization act like filters, cutting off a man from a direct relationship with the media of his survival.

The orange a man eats in this City probably has been sprayed with poisonous chemicals, was surely picked days ago and far away, packed and shipped and stored, and costs too much money. Because of

high rents and absentee landlords, and redevelopment projects that have driven many of them out of their homes and apartments.

Camping in parks is illegal, but the police are too occupied guarding banks and government buildings, water tanks and power generators, to mount an attack, so there is an uneasy truce between the Park People and the motorized officers patrolling the streets surrounding the parks.

Lasolfa is talking to me about his current fantasy:

"Late one night after Moonset," he says, "we slip out the back windows of that flat you live in, and we scale the telephone poles in the backyard--"

(We picture the wires extending from the poles to all the apartment buildings that encircle the interior of the block--)

"And we cut the wires," Lasolfa says.

"Then," Lasolfa continues, "we begin tearing down the fences. We pile the unusable wood in the middle of this inner-block Plaza we are creating, you can visualize it. Then we set fire to the wood, carefully controlling the fire."

"The smoke rising is a signal for five cars, parked across the Bay, to drive simultaneously onto the Bridge and occupy all five lanes of traffic, driving side by side. Gradually the cars slow, in unison, slowing and finally stopping inside the tunnel through the island in the middle of the Bay."

"In there, out of sight of the helicopters, horns honking, traffic jamming up, the five drivers leap out, set fire to their cars, then dash to a sixth car parked just ahead of the traffic jam, and make their escape." Lasolfa smiles.

"Diversionary incidents like these focus police attention away from our fire," I say.

"From ALL the fires," Lasolfa says, "rising out of newly created Plazas in other blocks of the City where your 'brotherhoods' and others sympathetic to our cause have rented flats and apartments."

There are things I cannot tell Lasolfa. Not because I do not want to, but because he would not hear.

There is nothing I cannot tell my brothers, for they already know it before I speak.

When I dream of fighting and killing you in the Plaza, I do not wake up in terror but go on into the dream. What is going to happen next? It is all here to tell me.

Flying to another place, and you are alive there. Together we are doing a dance in the middle of an open prairie, the top of a plateau, blue mountains in the distance.

Arm in arm, moving only when we feel the motion take us, we feel some force tracing something in the dust, acting through our moving feet.

But we see what we have traced in the dust, an eye, only after we have stopped dancing and remembered to remember what we have been dreaming together.

And next morning I come to where you have been sleeping, and you nod, yes, you had the same dream. And you trace with your fingers the eye in the dust of the floor of the pueblo.

Yes, it is the same eye as in my dream.

We are here together. It is morning in the pueblo. Sunlight patches lie on the floor.

But you, Lasolfa, have fallen asleep in the corner. What are you dreaming now?

Then I pictured endless transparent spheres, dream-worlds, reality-worlds, all of which we inhabited in one form or another, stone or bird or spirit, a single eye staring through all of our spheres, simultaneously.

"And that is what I dreamed, Lasolfa," I said.

Lasolfa nodded. He looked down at what his fingers had been tracing in the dirt on the hill in the City. It was an eye.

"Then we are always here!" Lasolfa exclaimed, leaping to his feet as I leaped to mine.

We linked arms and danced on the hillside, two small figures in the eye of the sun.

Rexroth

—Continued from page 13

crooks call their guns--"the difference." Rocks and Molotov cocktails and Weatherman bombs are powerless against even the most minor components of the most outworn weapons systems at the disposal of the old.

As Curtis LeMay said long ago, we could shave eight feet off the surface of the island of Cuba and just straighten up one page of our inventory. They could exterminate everybody under 30, or everybody under 80 for that matter, in the U.S. and just empty a few bins in one warehouse. Eventually, they will if their pow-

er is threatened.

Twenty years ago, I said they'd blow up the solar system and create a nova before they'd lower the price of the Buick. People laughed when I sat down at the piano. They don't laugh anymore.

Speaking of automobiles, years ago I found the slogan painted on a rock amongst peace symbols and political porn--"DODGE VS OLDS." Ways have got to be found to slip through the interstices of the machine of death.

The fly has got to learn to stay alive on a flywheel. Kent State should demonstrate conclusively to anyone who has doubted it up until now that his father and mother will cheer-

fully murder him, that they have the power and he does not.

We live in a society committed to wholesale death. It cannot be defied and it cannot be confronted. It can only be outwitted. Organizational forms, tactics and techniques must be developed right now to stay alive, to keep out of sight, to destroy the machinery of death.

There is no point in talking about going underground. You're politically underground already, and you'll soon be literally underground if you don't wake up. Never forget the troops at Kent State moved in as orderly and as strictly disciplined a formation as though they had been the highly drilled Hessians of Cornwallis.

Only the tactics of the one hero of the revolution I ever had any use for, Francis Marion, the Swamp Fox, will prevail against them. And even those will not prevail unless they are totally non-violent and totally inapprehensible. You've got to figure out things you can't get busted for doing and then figure out how to keep from being busted anyway.

Only intelligence can win. I haven't seen much around.

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MORRISON

-Continued from page 13

implications no one has investigated.

The City and the Redevelopment Agency have known from the start that the project, designed for the sports and tourist trade, would kick poor people out on the streets. They decided that boldness and sleight of hand with relocation figures could be substitute for a housing plan. Even in recent days, with the housing vacancy rate dropping to one per cent, they pressed ahead with their scheme to replace 3,500 living units with 276.

The day of reckoning had to come. Then their bluff was called, half-heartedly by the Department of Housing and Urban Development on the question of a feasible city-wide urban renewal program, quite firmly by the Federal District Court on the specific question of Yerba Buena.

Under economic pressure, HUD backed away almost immediately. But the department's formal capitulation was postponed until it could be passed off quite falsely as a response to the demands of a delegation of Hunters Point residents.

Judge Stanley Weigel's temporary stop order will probably result in a palliation if not a cure of Yerba Buena's defects. But the question remains how the City blundered into so sorry an episode. Several factors were at work.

I think the chief ones were the massed economic and political

power of the business community, unwilling to temper its greed; the lack of power in the disorganized South of Market region, made up preponderantly of the elderly, transient and down and out and the failure of the communications media to inform the larger community of what was going on.

The daily press and electronic media have behaved like an extension of the Redevelopment Agency's publicity department. Even KQED's Newsroom, where we might have expected more, has done an astonishingly bad job of covering the Yerba Buena story. Perhaps the media are uninformed and don't care. But it is difficult to see how mere ignorance and indifference could produce the degree of superficiality they have displayed.

It has long seemed to me that San Francisco politics is marked by a coalitional structure of power. Shifting combinations of groups forming around specific issues and drawing community support are usually decisive on public policy. This process never had a chance to work in Yerba Buena--or with Transamerica, for that matter. In each case, an economic oligarchy, carrying the mass media with it, has had its way with the citizenry. The Mayor and supervisors are supposed to save us from that fate.

Setting aside the question of housing, what about the auto traffic consequences of Yerba Buena? The parking spaces planned for the project area will run to 4,000 stalls. The Fifth and Mission Garage has been expanded into the area by the addition of 300 new stalls. Hearst's Garage on Third Street between Market and Mission, doubtless a response to development plans, will have a capacity of 800 cars. And so Yerba Buena will produce a total of 5,100 stalls.

Using the Park Authority's figure of an average parking stay of two hours and 39 minutes in downtown garages, we see a potential of 15,300 additional cars each day downtown. Bumper to bumper, that many would reach from San Francisco International Airport to the Bay Bridge Toll Plaza.

Has anybody in City Hall stopped to think about this? If so, the media have not told us. We've noted much pious rhetoric about the deleterious environmental effects of the pollution, congestion and noise of automobiles.

It's too bad the courts aren't yet empowered to help us with this problem. ♦

THESE POEMS FROM DICES OR BLACK BONES (ed. Adam David Miller, Houghton-Mifflin, 1970) illustrate the turn in black poetry away from tight political concerns and abstract revolution to daily emotions and the personal life. Feelings mundane for white writers become for black poets existential gestures.

Birthday Poem

First light of day in Mississippi
son of laborer & of house wife
it says so on the official photostat
not son of fisherman & child fugitive
from cotton fields & potato patches
from sugarcane chickens & well-water
from kerosene lamps & watermelons
mules named jack or jenny & wagonwheels,

years of meaningless farm work
work Work Work WORK WORK
"Papa pull you outta school bout March
to stay on the place & work the crop"
— her own earliest knowledge
of human hopelessness & waste

She carried me around nine months
inside her fifteen year old self
before here I sit numbering it all

How I got from then to now
is the mystery that could fill a whole library
much less an arbitrary stanza

But of course you already know about that
from your own random suffering
& sudden inexplicable bliss

— Al Young

Dancing in the Laundromat (or, Dust: An Ordinary Song)

I love you
I need you
you in the laundromat
among the telltale result
of the ubiquitous garment industry
shirts & blouses
(we have arms)
bras & the tops of bathingsuits
(you have breasts)
briefs & shorts panties skirts & bottoms
(we have bottoms centers middles stomachs
bellies crotches & cores)
on down to trousers & slacks
& contemporary leg gear butt-
lined whitelined blue-lined
roselined blacklined khaki-
lined rainbow clothesline
line-up — —

I blow you clean low kisses
from transparent lips
of vowel-shaped word
& no-word,
the well sudsed stocking-
feet continuing
the beds & sheets
pillowcases
tender towel & rag
apparel we take for granted,
delight of all but the nakedest eye.

What is it we wear
that never needs washing?

What is it we wear
that never wears?

— Al Young

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Consumers Cooperative of Berkeley—
a great place to shop—and eat grapes.



Photo by Tony Rogers

ARTIST, ARTISAN

What began for one SF State College student as an assignment in Fashion Merchandizing has become a full-time business. Until two years ago Mary Lim made earrings--in brass and copper and colorful glass beads--only for herself and friends. Then, to fulfill a class assignment to make a product and sell it, she showed her handicraft to buyers at several Bay Area stores, who now stock her "Sumi Handcrafted Jewelry."

Mrs. Lim plans to extend her repertory of materials to sterling silver. Her jewelry-making and addiction to bright colored beads, she

hints, are motivated by a fear of death. She often designs asymmetrical earrings, for example, a dangling fishhook topped by a bright bead.

Currently enrolled in 18 units worth of psychology courses, she intends to get a Ph.D. in Psych. and teach college. She manages a hectic schedule as student, artisan and wife, with help from her Berkeley architect husband in keeping the books straight in her steadily growing business.

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By Alan Wofsy

Until recently, the best wine buys in the Bay Area were to be had at Connoisseur Wine Imports, situated on an unfashionable street in Richmond. Connoisseur did all its own importing and had a very low mark-up. The principal owner, a veterinarian named George Linton, was disdainfully referred to as "that horse doctor from El Cerrito" by some of his unhappy competitors. Connoisseur began as a source of wine for Dr. Linton and his wine loving associates. Also, the owners used it as a tax write off from their principal occupations. Wine drinkers of limited means thus benefited from the kinds of tax loop-holes which usually serve only the undeserving rich.

Last year, Linton sold Connoisseur to a couple of wealthy brothers-in-law, Bal Gibson and Art Formichelli, who were attracted by the putative glamor of the wine trade. The new owners moved Connoisseur to 432 Bryant St. in San Francisco. Prices have gone up and there is more of an attempt at hard-sell than in the easy going Richmond days.

Nevertheless, Connoisseur still remains the standard by which prices and selection in other wine shops should be evaluated. Linton has remained as consultant and main buyer. He makes one or two buying trips to Europe each year, so there will be a continuity in the selection of wines. Connoisseur still has the knack of stocking good wines in all price categories. Walter Deicke has stayed on as manager. Unless you already know what you want, ask for Walt's recommendations, which always consider the purchaser's interest.

World-Famous Wines at 10 Minna St. in S.F. does not attempt to stock as wide a selection as the other wine specialty houses in the Bay Area. It buys heavily in the wines which it does carry. World-Famous generally has the lowest prices in the Bay Area. Therefore, check its price on the bottle you want before buying elsewhere. Decor is at a minimum in this narrow shop, and there is only one salesman. Its policy of quantity buying, small selection and low-overhead results in excellent values. Note: World-Famous does not offer the customary 10 per cent discount on a case of 12 bottles.

Next door to World-Famous, at 12 Minna St., August Casazza sells a complete line of syrups for making your own cordials and liqueurs. He also sells wines, but the sherry I bought was undrinkable.

Esquin Imports, 119 Sacramento, has perhaps the widest selection of wines in the Bay Area. Its owners, Ken Kew and Karl Petrovsky, publish informative price lists at regular intervals. Esquin represents the polar opposite of World-Famous: tremendous variety, an expensive location, free storage facilities, charge accounts and a large staff. Consequently, its prices are generally high. Only during its sales does Esquin Imports become competitive. However, two items are attractively priced: specially selected California wines, all of which receive individual tasting comments, and its sherries bottled by Avery. I've tried some of Esquin's low priced wines from lesser regions of France, but have always been disappointed.

John Walker, in the heart of the financial district at 111 Montgomery, has out-of-sight prices on European wines. It also has specially selected California wines, and you might wish to compare these with Esquin's.

Thomas Thomasser, the caterer at 1475 Pacific, opened a wine retail shop two years ago. His prices are generally high. The effervescent manager, Sandy Waters, likes to bargain, especially on some Calvet close-out items. Don't buy a case. First try a half-bottle and see if you like it. If you want to try the oldest California Cabernet around, Thomasser has a 1935 Simi at \$3.95. It's not great, but it's real.

The wine shop in City of Paris, Union Square, is over-priced on Bordeaux but has good values on some 1961 Burgundies.

Solano Avenue in Berkeley is the Mecca for wine drinkers in the East Bay.

Five establishments sell wine, of which three are owned by the Fahmie brothers. The Fahmies pioneered in the supermarket approach to selling alcoholic beverages. Solano is just beyond the one mile limit from the University, within which off-sale wine and liquor cannot be sold. Since the proportion of wine amateurs is high among University people, the wine shops on Solano can do a volume business at competitive prices.

Joseph's, 1882 Solano, is the largest shop on the block. Stan Friedman, the manager, is in charge of wine selection. He is young, knowledgeable and unpretentious-hence, a good guide. Joseph's prices change less often than those of other establishments. Therefore, it often has the best price on wines with fluctuating prices. In particular, its prices on older Bordeaux and German wines are quite good. Two German wines worth trying: 1966 Ockfener Bockstein, Spaetlese at \$2.35 and 1966 Rauenthaler Baiken, Spaetlese, Cabinet at \$3.25.

Another Fahmie enterprise is Michael's Bottle Shop at 1855 Solano. Since Roger Cogburn left as manager, it no longer exudes a passionate interest in wine. It still has a fairly good collection of standard wines, but is falling behind its competitors.

Roger Cogburn recently opened his own wine shop at 1569 Solano. In a business which tends to attract conservative personalities, Roger stands out as a hard-drinking supporter of People's Park. His shop is done up in railroad ties and Spanish tile. Roger is an ace at bargaining with customers and finding wines on closeout specials. His shop merits a visit.

Jackson's Party Service, 2942 Domingo in Berkeley, is another East Bay wine shop with a wide assortment of its own special selections. Its prices tend to be higher than the other shops mentioned, but it occasionally offers a good buy.

One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest (Little Fox)
Fortune and Men's Eyes (Committee Theatre)
Hadrian VII (ACT)
1776 (Civic Light Opera)

"One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest" contains more vitality and human juice than anything else on the local theatrical scene. I don't like its depressing aspects-I'm full up to here with playwrights who find their material in institutions like jails, schools and mental hospitals, then emphasize the most brutal and dehumanizing side of life in those institutions--but "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest" is almost elevating because it finds in its ugly material some evidence of the gallantry of the human spirit.

The protagonist is something of a slob, but he reacts to his fellow-inmates in a Veterans' hospital and their domination by a villainous head nurse with so much humanity, common sense, good spirit and even laughter that one gradually feels love and admiration for him and for what in each of us he represents.

Most of the vitality and juice of the production comes from Fredric Cook's performance as this good-hearted troublemaker. Drew Eshelman overdoes his effeminate gestures to the point of studied artificiality, but most of the time he is excellent and his delivery of the wedding ceremony is a high point.

The Little Fox is almost too intimate a theatre for a play peopled with these disturbed and disturbing characters. They pass you in the aisles and they loom over you from the stage. Their proximity is sometimes unnerving, particularly that of one character who slobbers a good deal.

Misfortune

"Fortune and Men's Eyes," at the Committee Theatre, is a similar play in some respects. This time it's a jail, the inmates its characters. Out of this ugly situation what do we get?

Well, just ugliness. There is a worthwhile message, I suppose, as if we needed it: jails are terrible.

But I found no pleasure in wallowing in it and I found actual pain in the thought that I had encouraged, by my attendance, the bad taste of the director, Sal Mineo, who changed the script to put on the stage two naked men depicting a homosexual rape. Too much.

The one highly entertaining performance in "Fortune and Men's Eyes" was less an intrinsic part of the play than an independent comedy bit. James Wigfall has so much fun doing a Fag Act that the audience seizes upon it as it would upon Jonathan Winters' Fag Act, laughing hysterically at the nugget of entertainment and returning to the serious ugliness of the play itself with an audible sigh of regret.

Papal fantasy

One of the American Conservatory Theatre's seasonal high points is a lavish production at the Geary of Peter Luke's "Hadrian VII," a strange and interesting play about a strange and interesting man, Frederick Rolfe.

As a young Victorian, Rolfe had a strong calling for the Catholic priesthood but was

twice thrown out of seminary. In 1904 he put all his fanaticism for the Church and his bitterness toward the Church's minions into a novel which forms the main part of Luke's drama.

Rolfe fantasizes suddenly becoming Pope and reforming the Church according to his own daring and stimulating notions of what the Church ought to be. Like "St. Joan," the play laughs, suffers and philosophizes about Christianity and Catholicism. ACT subscribers who see both plays will surely end the season feeling thoroughly churched.

"Hadrian VII" does not sweep you off your feet with its brilliance, but its colorful words and ideas provide a central role that could be overwhelming in the hands of a bravura actor. Peter Donat is not quite that, but he is very good and gets solid support from Jay Doyle, G. Wood, William Paterson and, sporadically, Harry Frazier.

ACT tedium

Unfortunately, this play needs something more than "solid" and "good" from its actors because it is a long and talky exercise. Anything less than electrifying acting lulls the spectator through stretches of tedium, tedium aggravated by ACT's congenital tendency to prolong things unnecessarily (a trait, I think, rooted in ACT's love for itself over its love for the audience).

Lines, bits of business, entire scenes become self-indulgent.

The best example is Fanny Lubritsky, an avian ancient who has been delightful in many plays. Here she parodies herself and director Allen Fletcher lets her do it. The result: a cockney bit part that ought to have been rattled off with dispatch for a welcome moment of comic relief but instead turns into interminable discomfort.

"Hadrian VII" is a two-hour drama that I sincerely recommend. Sadly, ACT stretches it to almost three hours.

Rolfe Peterson Reviews Theatre



The Civic Light Opera brought "1776" to the Curran for a long run. While it hardly deserves the raves and prizes it has won, the pleasant and good-natured show sends you out of the theatre feeling pleasant and good-natured, a rare blessing these days.

Basing a musical on the Continental Congress is a shaky idea, but has the advantage of charming audacity and freshness.

However, in script and production "1776" is flawed: Franklin, Adams, Jefferson and the other Founding Fathers are delineated in a superficial, simplistic style that seems intrinsic in musical comedy, for no good reason; the play becomes "straight" for long periods, lacking songs, but its rudimentary musical comedy libretto is not good enough to pass as a straight play; and the notion that Thomas Jefferson had trouble getting started on the first draft of the Declaration of Independence because he was sex-starved is simply offensive.

Yet it's somehow an awfully likeable show and the finale makes one feel patriotic again. A wonderful feeling in 1970.



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Margo Skinner Reviews Cinema

Woodstock (New Baronet)
Fellini Satyricon (Vogue)
The Liberation of L. B. Jones (Fox Warfield)
Riverrun (Metro II)

The best new movie in town is big, beautiful, sprawling "Woodstock," starring our greatest rock musicians and half a million young Americans. Three intense days at the great 1969 rock festival are compressed into three hours in Michael Wadleigh's phenomenal documentary, with cameras everywhere: closing in on beautiful young faces in the crowd, in triptych on the performers, zooming in the sky over the sea of people.

Thousands of cars jam the roads while today's youth plays in the sun, hovers under plastic or dances in the rain, phones home, queues up in vast chow

lines or for public toilets, skin-dips, makes love (one frank scene must have been shot by telescopic lens) and turns on with pot and music.

The music's just great. Bearded, black Jimi Hendrix creates an incredible, satiric "Star-Spangled Banner" with his guitar, even to the bombs bursting in air. (Over Vietnam?) Joan Baez, short-haired, earnest, sings "Joe Hill" like a hymn. Santana, integrated, passionate, had me really moving my feet and mind.

Best of all: the rousing climax with Sly and the Family Stone, 500,000 kids joining in and making the peace sign. Country Joe and the Fish, Arlo Guthrie and Ten Years After were fine, too.

I was less taken by Joe Cocker's monotonous "With a Little Help from my Friends," the hard rock of the Sha-Na-Na and the sentimentality of Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young. But God knows I'm not expert on modern music, although after "Woodstock," I'm a convert.

Flaws? A bit draggy toward the end, and some interviewees seemed chosen for freakiness rather than charm. But "Woodstock" is so good you're really there.

Roman decay

On other local screens, alas, melodrama reigns. The "Fellini Satyricon," so-called to distinguish it from another Italian film adaptation of Petronius' satire on ancient Rome, makes you realize what a ham the Italian director really is.

Acres of murky backgrounds, grotesque faces in night-side circus makeup and images repeated from earlier Fellini flicks--a giant fish from the sea, dead horses, fantastic, unseaworthy ships, even a white-faced, hermaphroditic sibyl, resembling the Hindu consulted by "Juliet of the Spirits"--what does it all add up to? Rome was decadent, decadent, decadent.

Stunning scenes like the ultimate gluttonous feast, in which an ox's belly is ripped open and puddings, sausages, roasted small birds pour out, show Fellini has no peer with a camera. Despite physical lavishness, however, "Satyricon" is intellectually and emotionally thin.

"The Liberation of L.B. Jones" was co-scripted by Sterling Silliphant, and that's a dead give-away. Here we are back in the decadent South, in "The Heat of the Night," with a horny redneck cop (Anthony Zerbe) sleeping with a black undertaker's wife, and murder the result.

Lola Falana, the torrid two-timer, is a real discovery; Roscoe Lee Browne plays the cuckolded husband with great dignity and presence and Anthony Zerbe does pretty well in the badly written part of the policeman. The other white actors, including Lee J. Cobb as a corrupt, powerful attorney, are completely unconvincing. Director William Wyler has done much better with his blacks, like Lauren Jones, in a touching bit as a young girl raped by the lecherous cop.

If all of "L.B. Jones" were as powerful as its climactic scene in a junkyard, it would be a great picture. But reels and reels of police cars driving around and people strolling the grounds of fine Southern mansions don't help. Wyler sometimes drags as much as Antonioni.

Hokum

Local film-maker John Korty's "Riverrun" is hokum about the generation gap, dressed up with beautiful lyric photography. It would have been nice if he'd stuck to the ordinary problems of adjustment of his attractive young drop-outs who flee from Berkeley to a northern California sheep ranch.

By Julia Cheever

Women factory workers need all the help they can get. Their average salary, nationwide, is \$3,991--compared to \$6,738 for their male counterparts. Though many have families to support, they are likely to be the last hired and first fired. And because they tend to be less aggressive and less unionized than men, they are easily exploited with bad working conditions.

Theoretically, they do have help--in the federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 which forbids sex discrimination in employment and in state protective laws guaranteeing women lunchrooms, breaks, adequate ventilation and limits on lifting and overtime.

But in California, women are finding that it's hard to get help from either source: employers alternately manipulate protective laws to discriminate against women, then use the Civil Rights Act as an excuse to violate desperately needed protective laws--claiming that protective laws are themselves a kind of discrimination against women.

At Fibreboard Corporation in Antioch, California, for example, women organized to combat discriminatory practices in pay, hiring and lay-offs they claimed violated Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. The company's response was suspension of some state protective laws. The result: back sprains from heavy lifting, 12 and 16 hour shifts, no more lunchbreaks.

In the plant where the lunchbreak was eliminated, women receive only three 10 minute breaks in eight hours and may eat only during those breaks, explained Mrs. Hazel Hill, president of Women Inc., a women's caucus formed in 1966 within the union Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers.

John Phelps, Fibreboard personnel and industrial relations director, claims the company's action resulted from new guidelines concerning Title VII and the state protective laws. But Mrs. Hill feels the suspensions of protective laws were a "direct result" of pressure (including "the first demonstration ever held in Antioch") exerted by Women Inc. to gain equal rights on the job.

Immediate problems with the protective laws at Fibreboard may be alleviated by a May 9 complaint to the Calif. Industrial Welfare Commission. But the example shows how vulnerable women are to exploitation.

Male factory workers would be protected by their unions. But only about 15% of the fulltime women workers in the country are unionized (in California, about 17%). And within unions, women are often a minority--22% within the manufacturing unions in California, for example.

Joan Jordan, a former lithographic worker, now a member of Independent Campus Women at SF State, feels that women "who simply don't hold power" are in special danger of exploitation during the present period of a "contracting labor market."

"With many people looking for jobs and willing to do anything to get them, the employers see the inhuman opportunity of cutting costs and increasing profits through exploitation."

In the Bay Area, groups throughout the spectrum of the women's movement agree on a solution to the conflict between protective laws and anti-discrimination legislation: extend the protective laws to men. (Mrs. Hill claims protective laws have already benefited men by forcing companies to install adequate lighting, proper ventilation and lunchrooms.)

But although Women's groups agree in principle, they have split on priorities for the state protective laws and the Equal Rights Amendment before Congress.

The constitutional amendment ("Equality of rights shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of sex") may jeopardize state protective laws even more seriously than the 1964 Civil Rights legislation. Labor movement women therefore insist that women should not support the E.R.A. unless it is accompanied by a rider that explicitly preserves the protective laws by extending them to men.

At a Women's Coalition meeting in Glide Memorial Methodist Church May 10, Joan Jordan said she was "absolutely opposed to passage of the E.R.A. in its present form." She feels that disagreement over the amendment shows a "class split in the women's movement."

The National Organization for Women agrees that state protective laws should be extended to men, but holds the E.R.A. should have top priority.

The amendment is needed to "make women first class citizens" according to NOW member Dorothy Martin. At present the constitution explicitly guarantees no equal rights for women except voting rights. The E.R.A. would affect not only job discrimination but numerous other inequalities such as community property laws (including California's).

Marilyn Patel, a lawyer and NOW member, believes that a protective law rider may not be legally feasible and "would undoubtedly defeat the E.R.A." at the hands of state's rights sensitive Senators and Congressmen. Adding that ratification could take six or seven years, she told the May 9 meeting "We should work for this amendment and at the same time get individual states to extend the protective laws to men."

With luck--and with enough pressure from women--California may provide an example of the interim solution. The legislature is now considering separate bills to forbid sex discrimination in employment (A.B. 22) and extend protective laws to men (A.B. 2467).

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Comments & Letters

YERBA BUENA

Swigs

I have your letter with regard to the article on the Yerba Buena Redevelopment project. I do not believe that any comments from me would be in order at this time.

MELVIN M. SWIG
Fairmont Hotel, S.F.

Thank you for your letter of April 14 inviting me to comment in your next forum column on recent criticisms of Yerba Buena and SF Redevelopment by the Guardian and by HUD officials in Washington.

I wish I had the time to do all the things that are requested of me, but I have so many meetings and so many projects in which I am involved that I cannot take on this one.

I do appreciate your inviting me to participate, however.

BENJAMIN H. SWIG
Fairmont Hotel, S.F.

Terra Calif.

Thank you for your invitation to comment on the Yerba Buena project. We are happy that you are concerned with such an important community development.

Our opportunity for becoming involved is at this date several weeks premature, and we would be in a much better position to comment in depth if we do, in fact, become the selected developer.

W. H. IRISH
President, Terra California
Walnut Creek, Calif.

HUD

Secretary Romney usually does not—as a matter of policy—engage in public discussion about local programs.

In view of the fact that the Yerba Buena project is now in litigation, the Department cannot comment, either from the Central Office or its Regional Office.

GEORGE CREEL
Dir. of Public Affairs, HUD
Washington, D.C.

A. E. Schlesinger

As outlined in detail at the public hearing at the Redevelopment Agency on March 23rd my responsibility, if our joint venture group is selected as the developer, will be the creation and administration of the desperately needed public non-profit facilities, in the project: The convention center, the sports arena, the 4,000 car garage, the new downtown airline terminal (with a possible direct Bart connector to the airport) and the 2,200 seat Bay Area theatre and music center.

At this time I have nothing further to report, but will be pleased to give you any further information if and when it develops.

ALBERT SCHLESINGER, S.F.

Housing Authority

I feel it is beyond the purview of the Housing Authority to comment, critically or otherwise, on the process of renewal. Let me, however, assure you that the Authority has been, and is, anxious to obtain sites for construction of public housing both in and out of renewal areas, and has so notified the Redevelopment Agency and other agencies of the local, state and Federal governments.

ENEAS J. KANE
Exec. Dir., S.F. Housing Authority

Downtown Assoc.

The Downtown Association is very strongly in favor of the Yerba Buena Convention Center and Sports Arena, feeling that Complex is a must for the future development of San Francisco. Although we heavily favor the Sports Arena, our main concern is in the development of the Convention Center.

Several key pushers of Yerba Buena declined the Guardian's invitation to defend the abuses perpetrated South of Market in the name of urban renewal. But they quickly came to the defense of the embattled project itself.

Federal Judge Stanley Weigel, unable to get Redevelopment and the San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation to agree to compromise, ordered all eviction, demolition and construction to cease until the residents can be properly relocated.

Then the judge took off for vacation—and city officials, with the Mayor leading the pack as chief negotiator and lawyer, began to counter attack. Pleading emergency, they pressed for major modifications of Weigel's order before he returns.

It was a sorry spectacle but a San Francisco mayor swinging his weight about in court to throw San Franciscans out of their homes should not surprise Guardian readers who know why and for whom Yerba Buena is being "redeveloped."

As you are aware, tourism is our number one industry in San Francisco and much of that business comes through the attendance of delegates to conventions. We are now losing conventions because we do not have enough space for the delegates to hold their meetings nor enough display area. The Convention Center scheduled for Yerba Buena will solve this.

As we understand it, all of the steps taken by Redevelopment have the full approval of the federal government who set up the policies and reviewed the program of the Agency. We must respectfully honor the Judge's decision, but we feel the solution will be found.

In this day and age, we find it too easy to throw obstacles in paths. We prefer more positive action. We hope that your newspaper will help lead the way.

LLOYD A. PFLUEGER
Mgr., S.F. Downtown Assoc.

John Burton

My main problem with the project is the lack of consideration given to the people who have lived South of Market. At the inception of the project, there were 4,100 single persons and 350 families living in the project area. The plans call for the elimination of all residential areas with a token supply of 270 public housing

projects to be built as housing replacement.

In addition to this, the building of the Yerba Buena Center will have a tremendous impact on surrounding residential areas. It is my fear that unless plans are laid to protect not only the residents of the YBC but residents living in pension hotels in low-income units and surrounding areas, there will be a tremendous dislocation caused by the "private redevelopment" that will follow the public redevelopment.

It is necessary for a city such as San Francisco to have an adequate tax base. It is also necessary that standard housing units are replaced, but it is not necessary to accomplish these goals by totally disregarding the lives of the people living South of Market.

JOHN L. BURTON
Assemblyman, 20th Dist.

Sandra Marks

The Redevelopment Agency has at its disposal federal funds to hire community people. Jobs as desk clerks, security guards and elevator operators were given out freely to residents of hotels. Generally, after these individuals received one or two paychecks, it was strongly suggested to them by relocation workers that they should move to "set a good example" for other tenants, or that there's a "rule" stating

or is the lack of safe and sanitary rental units available that people can afford.

Most Yerba Buena people were being displaced into the Tenderloin District or into Sixth Street. These areas have the highest crime rates in the city.

Many elderly people were displaced into inside rooms in areas so dangerous that they are doomed to remain prisoners in rooms they are too frightened to leave.

Because the evidence is overwhelming that adequate relocation housing does not exist and because the Redevelopment Agency failed to consult with minority groups, Judge Weigel, on Apr. 30, 1970, granted a preliminary injunction. The next move is up to the Agency. It seems clear now that if the Redevelopment Agency does not build housing or rehabilitate what exists, the injunction will never be lifted.

Approximately 1800 citizens of the city of San Francisco, many of them elderly, stand in the way of "progress" in this city. They are the remaining residents of the Yerba Buena Project area whose homes the city seeks to destroy to have a new convention center. Despite the fact that the city is in the midst of a severe housing crisis, 4,000 units of low-cost housing are slated for destruction.

On Dec. 10, 1969, Judge Stanley Weigel in Federal Court instituted several restraining orders to protect residents of the Yerba Buena Project. They forbid eviction, demolition and any move unless it is voluntary.

Although the Judge's concerns in terms of violation of individual rights seemed clear, the Redevelopment Agency has been very creative in finding ways to work around the order. This becomes clear upon examination of Agency records of moves from the project area which show patterns of movement from hotels which they are anxious to clear.

In February, for example, there were large numbers of people moving from the Daton Hotel, which the Agency hoped to close on Mar. 4. The Hotel stands on a site promised to the Del Monte Corporation. In April, the push was to clear the Bayview Hotel, needed by the Agency to turn over to Crocker Citizens for development.

Residents of these hotels were not advised of the restraining orders applicable to them. They were told instead that their hotel would close on a certain date, or that it would be condemned within a short period of time, and that they had better make arrangements to move quickly before all the good places were taken. They were also told in many cases that they would be given \$1,000 to move.

What was not made clear, however, was that this money is available on a monthly basis for two years at most to aid tenants to pay rents that HUD claims they cannot afford. After the supplement runs out, people are on their own, forced to pay for housing with an exorbitant percentage of their income.

As Judge Weigel said, in reference to the Housing Act of 1949, "... Congress intended residents of blighted areas to be beneficiaries, not victims, of the Urban Renewal provided for by the Act."

SANDRA MARKS
Community Organizer
Canon Kip Comm. House, S.F.

that employees must live outside the Yerba Buena Project Area.

Hiring ran high in buildings the agency sought to clear. Turnover in these jobs is high, apparently to make room for hiring in the next hotel to be emptied. At one agency-owned hotel, an elevator operator has been hired, but there is no elevator for him to operate. In an attempt to clear the Bayview, four new staff have been hired to work in the Daton Hotel where only six residents remain.

The Redevelopment Agency has numerous ways of making life in the hotels miserable enough so that people will want to move. These include turning off heat and hot water, withholding mail, refusing to call a tenant to the phone when he has a call, poor maintenance, locking toilets, etc.

In addition, in many hotels, rooms are repeatedly robbed with no evidence that they have been broken into. In many cases, staff in the hotels have been caught entering rooms with passkeys for no legitimate reasons. Security guards and clerks have taken to beating up tenants on occasion.

Despite all of the infringements on people's lives in the Yerba Buena Area, many want to stay. In many hotels the sense of community is so strong that people feel as if survival would be difficult without friends who can be depended upon to take care of you when the going is rough. Another major fact-

P.G. & E.

The Guardian recently inspected the University of California's "Schedule of Investments," produced and published by UC Regents. It helps explain why UC won't legally compel PG&E to wheel federal power to the Berkeley campus at an annual savings of \$500,000. (See April 17 Guardian.)

The 1969 Investment Schedule revealed the Regents have invested in nearly 90 private utility companies, mostly power companies—more than in any other single industry. Private utility investment tops \$102 million in stocks and bonds.

And, 40 per cent of the Re-

gents' utility stocks were issued by two companies—PG&E and Southern California Edison. (In contrast, the only PUBLIC power investment was \$10,000 in the Sacramento Municipal Utility District.)

No wonder UC officials find the public/private power issues too "complex" to move against PG&E.

We asked all 24 regents to comment on UC's unwillingness to move against PG&E. The following four replied.

To the editor:

I have read the article and, on the basis of discussions of this subject which were held by the Board some time ago, I am certain that it presents a distorted point of view.

I do not feel this is the kind of subject that I, as an individual regent, should comment on. In the event you wish to pursue it further, I suggest you go through University administrative channels.

JOHN E. CANADAY
Calif. Regent

To the editor:

I appreciate your interest in sending me the copy of the current issue of the San Francisco Bay Guardian.

MAX RAFFERTY
Sup., Public Instruction

To the editor:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 11 enclosing a copy of the April 17

issue of the San Francisco Bay Guardian with particular reference to the article entitled "PG&E Keeps Public Power Out of UC-Berkeley."

This matter will be given further study within the University.

CHARLES J. HITCH
Pres., U. of Calif.

To the editor:

On the Board of Regents, I have been pounding away on the same thing since 1965 and as recently as February, 1970. Several years ago, I put together some extensive meetings in the Interior Department to try to get something done. My own conclusion at this point is that the University is wasting public funds in not insisting on obtaining public power; but the chance

is slight of making any headway either through Washington or Berkeley for now.

An alternative approach which I have also raised would be for the University to petition the PUC for a special rate based on the quantity of electricity it buys. The present charges were set by private negotiation. PG&E made some concessions because of the protest I and several others were making for the University; but the academic administrators and the Company sat down and worked out an arrangement which made headway but still took the heat off. Now we should be insisting on a full review by the Commission, as sad as it also is.

FREDERICK G. DUTTON
Calif. Regent

Berkeley Know Your Local Defense Contractor

—Continued from page 12



17 Etcheverry

Aeronautical engr. Subtotal DOD: \$137,000
L. Talbot, F. Hurlbut & F. Sherman (N, \$65,000); E. Laiton (N, \$14,000); M. Holt (N, \$58,000).

Applied mechanical engr.

Subtotal DOD: \$260,800
G. Leitmann (N, \$63,000); P. Lieber (N, \$49,300); W. Goldsmith (N, \$33,500); W. Soroka (N, \$8,000); W. Knight (N, \$21,000); P. Naghi (N, \$66,000); L. Loeb (N, \$20,000).

Industrial engr.

Subtotal DOD: \$230,175
D. Gate (N, \$35,000); D. Gate, R. Shephard & W. Jewell (N, \$35,000); L. Crossman (N, \$106,182); R. Barlow (N, \$53,993).

Mechanical engr.

Subtotal DOD: \$368,565
M. Holt (AF, \$65,000); S. Kobayashi (AF, \$56,500); A. Oppenheim (AF, \$157,500); L. Talbot (AF, \$36,565); L. Talbot, F. Sherman & F. Hurlbut (AF, \$53,000).

Mechanical engr.: thermal systems

Subtotal DOD: \$86,483
I. Cornet & D. Fuerstenan (A, \$20,000); K. Spiegler (A, \$34,804); R. Sawyer (AF, \$31,679).

Nuclear engr.

Subtotal DOD: \$26,700
V. Schrock (N, \$26,700).

Subtotal AEC: \$30,186
H. Mark (\$5,186); H. Amster, H. Mark & S. Prussin (\$25,000).

18 North Gate Hall

Engr Research Services

19 Earth Sciences

Geology & geophysics Subtotal DOD: \$84,904
B. Bolt, T. McEvilly & L. Johnson (AF, \$39,904); D. Wang (N, \$20,000); B. Bolt (AF, \$25,000).

Seismology

Subtotal DOD: \$10,000
B. Bolt (N, \$10,000).

Subtotal AEC: \$19,000

B. Bolt & T. McEvilly (LRL, \$19,000).

20 McLaughlin

Engineering Subtotal DOD: \$42,642
R. Goodman (A, \$19,920); J. Mitchell (A, \$22,722).

Hydraulic & sanitary engr.

Subtotal DOD: \$195,368
E. Wilson (N, \$10,000); J. Johnson (A, \$10,600); H. Einstein (A, \$27,168); J. Johnson & H. Einstein (A, \$26,000); J. Johnson, H. Einstein & P. Wilde (A, \$24,800); J. Johnson & R. Weigel (A, \$47,000); R. Weigel & L. Borgman (A, \$49,800).

Structural engr.

Subtotal DOD: \$204,911
R. Williamson (N, \$21,540); E. Wilson (A, \$25,500); R. Clough (N, \$30,600); E. Wilson & R. Clough (N, \$20,671); E. Wilson, A. Chopra & J. Penzien (A, \$30,000); E. Wilson & E. Popov (A, \$20,000); R. Taylor, L. Herrmann & K. Pister (N, \$32,600); R. Taylor, L. Herrmann & J. Sackman (N, \$24,000).

Transportation engr.

Subtotal DOD: \$81,026
J. Duncan (A, \$3,740); H. Seed (A, \$4,000); J. Duncan & H. Seed (A, \$34,500); D. Finch (AF, \$4,400); J. Mitchell (A, \$15,986); R. Goodman (A, \$18,400).

21 Naval Architecture

Naval architectural engr.

Subtotal DOD: \$151,744
J. Paulling & J. Wehausen (N, \$63,000); J. Paulling (N, \$31,084); B. Parlett (N, \$50,760); J. Wehausen (N, \$2,100); P. Rodgers (N, \$4,800).

Subtotal Coast Guard: \$7,796

J. Paulling (\$7,796).

22 Cory

Electrical engr. Subtotal DOD: \$1,092,818
T. VanDuzer (A, \$23,000); A. Lichtenberg & M. Lieberman (AF, \$151,167); P. Morton (ARPA, \$—1,200,000*); S. Schwarz (A, \$31,000); W. Wang (A, \$23,084); A. Gill (AF, \$13,500); H. Smith (DASA, \$30,238); E. Jury (AF, \$23,500); D. Angelakos (N, \$9,700); D. Angelakos & J. Whinnery (AF, \$625,000); W. Oldham (A, \$49,800); R. White (A, \$59,800); D. Pederson (A, \$22,000); P. Spira (A, \$16,029); P. Spira & L. Zadeh (A, \$15,000).

Subtotal AEC: \$67,243

C. Birdsall (\$67,243).

Electronics Res. Lab.

Subtotal DOD: \$22,000

P. Lieber (N, \$22,000).

23 Hearst Mining

Science and engr. materials

Subtotal DOD: \$27,460
E. Wong & I. Frisch (A, \$27,460).

24 Donner Lab (LRL)

Medical physics Subtotal DOD: \$5,000
H. Bremerman (N, \$5,000).

Radiation Lab. (Donner)

Subtotal AEC: \$10,807

C. Tobias (AEC, \$10,807).

25 T-9

Office of Naval Research

26 T-7

Computer Sciences

27 Campbell

Astronomy Subtotal DOD: \$13,000
H. Spinrad (N, \$13,000).

Center for Pure & Applied Math.

Subtotal DOD: \$55,596

S. Diliberto (N, \$21,000); M. Protter (N, \$34,596).

Subtotal AEC: \$76,000

A. Taub (\$76,000).

Computer res.

Subtotal DOD: \$57,260

B. Parlett (N, \$45,000*); M. Harrison (AF, \$12,260).

Mathematics

Subtotal DOD: \$48,312

E. Pinney (N, \$14,000); S. Diliberto (N, \$34,312).

Radio Astronomy Lab.

Subtotal DOD: \$76,863

S. Silver & W. Welch (AF, \$46,863); H. Weaver (N, \$30,000).

Statistics

Subtotal DOD: \$155,129
E. Scott & L. Lecam (A, \$10,000); L. Lecam & J. Neyman (A, \$42,129); P. Bickel (N, \$48,000); J. Neyman (N, \$55,000).

In summer 1968, the Army and Office of Naval Research warned statistics Profs. L. Lecam and J. Neyman that their research contract would not be renewed when it expired the next June.

Lecam, Neyman and 200 others had signed an anti-war advertisement in the Notices of the American Math Society, urging American mathematicians to hold themselves "responsible for the uses to which your talents are put. We believe this responsibility forbids putting mathematics in the service of this cruel war."

The Army, goaded by Georgia Sen. Russell, retaliated with the cut-off threat and a letter claiming their research was used "in various activities related to the current conflict in Vietnam including your regression procedures as applied to ammunition and ballistics problems." The issue sizzled for months among researchers.

Lecam insists his research is "basic" and cannot be directly used for war purposes. DOD research administration, he told the Guardian, was trying "to convince the generals." The Army and ONR, after telephoned negotiations, assured the professors their contracts would continue. They still do.

28 Le Conte

Physics

Subtotal DOD: \$258,318
C. Schwartz, K. Watson & A. Kaufman (AF, \$86,975); C. Townes & R. Chaio (A, \$37,557); Y. Shen (N, \$25,059); W. Knight (N, \$38,000); C. Kittel (N, \$12,631); L. Loeb (N, \$23,500); M. Protter (N, \$34,596).

Subtotal AEC: \$355,102

C. Jeffries (\$168,782); G. Chew (\$30,750); J. Reynolds (\$147,919); L. Jacobsen (\$7,651).

29 Giauque

Chemical engr.

Subtotal DOD: \$108,400

E. Peterson (AF, \$30,943); R. Merrill (AF, \$77,457).

30 Latimer

Chemistry

Subtotal DOD: \$326,995
G. Pimentel (AF, \$148,281); H. Rapoport (A, \$76,303); A. Streitweiser (AF, \$30,444); P. Timms (A, \$4,467); C. Moore (A, \$67,500).

In 1961, Prof. Henry Rapoport held two army contracts for chemical warfare agent research on "Lethal and Incapacitating Agents." One project intended to "isolate in pure form and to determine the chemical structure of ryanodine which has an unusual type of pharmacological activity of interest in the search for agents; the other intended to "determine the chemical structure of shellfish poison, a highly toxic product," as a basis for developing new chemical warfare agents.

Both projects were supervised by the Agent Research Board of the Army Chemical Center. The Army awarded Rapoport an additional \$76,303 last December for continuing his research in "Marine Chemistry."

31 Optometry

Optomology

Subtotal DOD: \$35,000

L. Stark (N, \$35,000).

32 Space Sciences Lab

Space Sciences Lab. Subtotal DOD: \$365,293
S. Silver (A, \$232,793); F. Mozer (N, \$60,000); S. Diliberto (N, \$42,500); S. Silver & W. Welch (N, \$30,000).

Subtotal AEC: \$57,952

H. Borsook (\$57,952).

33 Survey Research Ctr.

2220 Piedmont

Survey Research Center collaborates with IIS (see map No. 5) in maintaining an International Data Library and Reference Service which specializes in collecting data from developing nations, particularly in Asia and Latin America.

34 Moses

Letters & science Subtotal AEC: \$115,612

H. Aceto (\$74,647); L. Kelly (\$27,080); G. Jura (\$13,885).

35 Barrows

Center for Res. in Mgt. Science

Subtotal DOD: \$20,057

W. Zangwill (N, \$10,557); R. Radner (N, \$9,500).

Economics

Subtotal DOD: \$17,500

R. Radner (N, \$17,500).

Inst. of Bus. & Econ. Res.

Subtotal DOD: \$79,300

D. Jorgenson (A, \$79,300).

36 Tolman

Education

Subtotal DOD: \$122,335

R. Gagne (AF, \$122,335).

TOTAL DOD: \$9,991,980

AEC: \$1,220,034 (on campus, excluding LRL)

\$256,649,000 (LRL, Livermore & Los

Alamos, FY 1968/69)

Coast Guard: \$7,796

*Minus amounts represent funds withdrawn. Not included is \$14,000 withdrawn in Dec. 1969 from a Computer research Office of Naval Research contract (B. Parlett) and \$325,000 withdrawn in July 1970 from a Naval Biological Lab. contract (N. Vedros).

Included in list but not in totals is \$49,559 withdrawn in Sept. 1969 from an Institute for International Studies contract (R. Scalapino) and \$1,200,000 withdrawn in Dec. 1969 from an Electrical Engineering contract (P. Morton).

Scalapino initially received an ARPA contract, administered through ONR, for \$282,840 for a 3 year period beginning June 15, 1967. This Himalayan studies contract was terminated last June, two years and some \$233,000 later.

Morton initially contracted with ARPA for a \$7,640,873 "Project Genie" in 1963. This was later reduced to \$3,320,890. A new three-year contract, beginning this July, provides \$1,734,486 to continue the project.

off DOD

—Continued from page 4

sponsorship is partly responsible for the troubles on our campuses."

For those who label subversive this kind of opposition to DOD interference with academic freedom, or would say it would anger the legislators, let us add Science Magazine's footnote to Rickover's statement: "The Senators seemed sympathetic to Rickover's opinions."

The gut question is whether the university or the professor should accept DOD research money for useful projects that would otherwise go unfunded. Setting aside the ethic/protest question raised by the Schwartz exchanges, the larger point is simply this: it is a scandal that projects recognized as scientifically useful or socially beneficial can be properly supported in a democratic society and an open university only under cover of the Pentagon, the war machine and their military disaster in Indochina.

This wrongheaded priority is the easy way for the government to get useful military research and the university to get badly needed funds. But the military can get its research

done elsewhere (in its own laboratories, as a starter.) The universities can no longer pay the price of war machine financing: "the surrender of independence, the neglect of teaching and the distortion of scholarship," as Sen. Fulbright put it in a Senate speech on university war research.

Universities should no longer administer DOD and AEC weapons contracts, professors should refuse to take them.

Once this decision is made, then the resources of administration and faculty can be applied to getting research funds from the National Science Foundation, through foundations, by competitive financing from several government agencies, from the body politic.

On the ramparts

Good for Mrs. Audrey Rodgers and Victor Honig. They have revived the lost art of resigning on principle from city government.

Both did so in high style and quite properly put the sword (Mrs. Rodgers, as chairman of the charter revision committee, and Honig as a member of the Human Rights Commission) to Mayor Alioto for his wrongheaded priorities and, in Mrs. Rodgers' memorable phrase, for policies of "strip-mining our

city's urban potential."

That was our major reservation with the Look magazine article on Alioto. His alleged connections with the Mafia are about 37th on our list of things that are wrong with Alioto and his administration. (Next issue: the Case Against Mayor Joseph Alioto.)

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Cambridge-SF apartment exchange. Have excellent 4 1/2 rooms with fireplace and yard, near MIT-Harvard in good neighborhood. Available 6/1 (possibly later) for 1 year (possibly longer). Hartman, 15 Farrar, Cambridge 02138, 547-3859.

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ON GUARD

What You Can Do

Who to write

Right now, letters to Washington are not being counted--they're being weighed. Therefore: what you write and how cogent your argument is not important. One clear sentence stating opposition to the President's policy is all that is necessary. Write on heavy paper and write often.

For rapid communication: Send a Western Union telegram as a "public opinion message." Fifteen words cost \$1 which can be billed to your phone number. Call Western Union (832-6400 Berkeley; 986-2626 SF.)

Some key addresses:

President Richard Nixon, 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, D.C. 20500; Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510; Senate Foreign Relations Committee c/o Sen. J. W. Fulbright, New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510; Sen. George Murphy (R-Calif.), Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510.

Congressmen by district, all in Washington 20515: Rep. Robert L. Leggett (D-Vallejo), Cannon House Office Building; Rep. Phillip Burton (D-SF), Cannon House Office Building; Rep. William S. Maillard (R-SF), Rayburn House Office Building; Rep. Jeffrey Cohelan (D-Oakland), Rayburn House Office Building; Rep. George P. Miller (D-Alameda), Rayburn House Office Building; Rep. Don Edwards (D-San Jose), Cannon House Office Building; Rep. Paul N. McCloskey (R-Portola Valley), Longworth House Office Building; Rep. Jerome Waldie (D-Concord), Cannon House Office Building.

Sens. McGovern and Hatfield are sponsoring an important Amendment to End the War. It would cut off funds gradually for the Southeast Asian war and would require that no funds be spent on it after July, 1971.

'Swing Senators'

The 'Swing Senators' on McGovern/Hatfield bill: George Aiken, Ver. (R); Clinton Anderson, N. M. (D); Alan Bible, Nev. (D); James Caleb Boggs, Del. (R); Edward Brooke, Mass. (R); Quentin Burdick, N. Dak. (D); Howard Cannon, Nev. (D); Clifford Case, N. J. (R); Marlowe Cook, Ky. (R); John Sherman Cooper, Ky. (R); Norris Cotton, N. H. (R); Allen Ellender, La. (D); *Ernest Hollings, S.C. (D); Jacob Javits, N. Y. (R); *Russell Long, La. (D); Thomas McIntyre, N. H. (D); Warren Magnuson, Wash. (D); Joseph Montoya, N. M. (D); Frank Moss, Utah (D); John Pastore, R. I. (D); James Pearson, Kan. (R); Charles Percy, Ill. (R); *William Proxmire, Wis. (D); Jennings Randolph, W. Va. (D); *William Saxbe, Ohio (R); *Richard Schweiker, Pa. (R); Hugh Scott, Pa. (R); Ralph Smith, Ill. (R); William Spong, Va. (D); Ted Stevens, Alaska (R); Stewart Symington, Mo. (D); Joseph Tydings, Md. (D); *Harrison Williams, N.J. (D).

*(List from Cranston's office.)

State anti-war legislation

The State Assembly is now considering a bill (A.B. 1674) that should force a Supreme Court showdown on the issue of an undeclared war. It requires the California Attorney General to file suit in the U.S. Supreme Court if a California resident is asked to participate in an undeclared war.

If approved in committee, the bill has to be passed by the Assembly, the Senate and the Governor. The bill's author, Assemblyman John Vasconcellos, says it has a good chance. Write or telephone your local legislator.

SUPPORT ALSO YOUR LOCAL PEACE CANDIDATES:

Gov.--Jess Unruh (D); Lt. Gov.--Alfred Alquist (D); Sec. St.--Edmund G. Brown, Jr. (D); Controller--Herman Sillas (D); Treasurer--Milton Gordon (D); Atty. Gen.--Charles O'Brien (D); St. Senators--George Moscone (D); Sam Halsted (R-S.M. County); Arlen Gregorio (D-S.M. County).

St. Assembly--Willie Brown (D, SF); John Burton (D, SF); Leo McCarthy (D, SF); Ken Meade (D, Berkeley); John Vasconcellos (D, Campbell); U.S. Congress--Phillip Burton (D, SF); Russell Miller (D, SF); *Zaide Kirtley (D, SF); *Ron Dellums (D, Berkeley); Pete McCloskey (R, S.M. County); *Robert Gomperts (D, S.M. County); U.S. Senate--George Brown (D); John Tunney (D).

*Guardian primary preference.

Tax resistance

About 70% of your tax dollar supports military spending. If you do not pay your taxes--or that proportion of your taxes which goes for war--you are registering a protest. If you persuade thousands of

others to join you, the government may have to stop the war and seriously reduce military spending.

Two forms of tax resistance are being organized:

1. Don't pay the 10% federal tax on your phone bill. This tax, imposed only because of the war makes PT&T a tax collector for the war. Pay your phone bill minus the 10% tax and mention in an attached note why you are not paying the tax.

The phone company will not cut off your service. Instead, it will notify the IRS that you have not paid your tax. Eventually, the IRS will contact you and, if you still refuse to pay, will attach your bank account, deducting from it the amount of the tax plus interest and a 5% penalty fee. But: it will cost them more to collect your tax than the amount of the tax itself. None of your phone tax money will be available for the war.

Willful failure to pay federal taxes is a misdemeanor with penalties attached. But no phone tax refuser has ever been prosecuted.

2. Don't pay all or part of your federal income tax until the war ends.

There are several ways to do this, depending on how much risk you want to take. For example, you can pay but send in a protest with your return; pay but file a request for a refund (IRS Form 843) on the grounds that you object to paying the 70% of your taxes going to the military or the 20% going directly to Vietnam, or the surtax, or whatever other figures you choose; pay but file for a refund of whatever amount you choose on your regular tax return (you might even get the refund if the computer is confused enough); pay less withholding tax by declaring extra dependents (send a registered letter to IRS about what you are doing and keep a copy.) If you don't pay withholding tax, don't pay your tax or whatever part of it you choose; or refuse to pay whatever your tax return shows you owe on your annual return.

If you are really adamant--and courageous--you can refuse to file a tax return at all and merely write a letter explaining your refusal.

To avoid charges of fraud, you must notify IRS in writing that your refusal to pay taxes, whatever form it takes, is based on principle; keep copies of your statement. The IRS will eventually get your money, plus interest, plus a small fine, but it will cost them time and money to do so.

In the last twenty years, only seven people have been prosecuted for willful failure to pay any taxes. Six of them refused to file returns or co-operate in any way, and none were conscientious tax resisters.

For more information on tax resistance, contact Bruce Blumberg, Boalt Hall Law School, 841-2669 or War Resisters' League, 833 Haight St., S.F., 626-6976.

Defense industries

To make the war less profitable and less popular:

1. Sell war stocks. Or use your stocks to initiate stockholders' actions against war production.

2. Don't buy U.S. Savings Bonds. Instead, cash them in. As Fortney Stark, President of Security National Bank in Oakland, which no longer sells the bonds, told his customers: the savings bonds support the war effort, and they are not good investments anyway. (This sort of economic pressure works. The U.S. government angrily withdrew the bank's right to sell U.S. bonds after Stark's statements.)

3. Boycott products of companies that do war work. Write the company why you are not patronizing them. See top local contractors, p. 10, 11.

4. Go after institutions (or your local company, labor union, alma mater) that are heavily interested in defense stocks. The University of California is (See p. 9). So is San Francisco's pension fund.

5. San Francisco is peculiarly vulnerable on three grounds: (a) the city has been selling its own public power, not to its own residents, but to such war industries as Hercules Powder in Pinole (gunpowder, explosives), Dow Chemical in Pittsburg (napalm), Norris Industries in Riverbank (munitions) and Kaiser Industries in Santa Cruz (electronics). (b) the city still pays the Stanford Research Institute some \$30,000 a year as the city's "lobbyist/representative" in Washington. (c) the city/port massive waterfront projects will facilitate U.S. industrial and war expansion into the Far East.

6. Do your own war research on local firms. See sources on pgs. 3, 10, 11.

Information sources

Several university groups have been doing tough research and publishing information on the war, including Cambodia. In particular: 1) Zoology Department, 1040 Life Sciences Building, Cal., 642-6459;

642-4941 has copies of all reports being put out on aspects of the war from the university community and can tell you how to get copies of them. 2) Indo-China Information Center, Room 24, Boalt Hall, Cal., 642-1629 is producing research on legal aspects of the war and can advise you on getting copies. 3) UC Campus Information Clearinghouse, South Hall, Cal., Room 310, 642-6637 will do research on specific aspects of the war and the anti-war movement and will direct you to what is available. 4) Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, 2168 Shattuck, Berkeley, (Gordon Bennett, 642-6510, 6511, 6512) is a source for the most recent printed information. Some of their material comes from the: 5) Bay Area Institute, 9 Sutter St., S.F., 986-5690; Pacific Studies Center, 1950 University Ave., East Palo Alto, Calif. which is working on the most current aspects of the Cambodian situation, as well as on how the war has influenced the domestic economy.

Peace groups

--ANOTHER MOTHER FOR PEACE (largely educational, letter-writing, peace candidate support, no meetings, occasional conventions, position statements, publicity.) Info.: 407 N. Maple Dr., Beverly Hills, Calif. 90210 (213) 478-3476.

--WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM and WOMEN FOR PEACE both at: 50 Oak St., S.F. 863-7146, 2495 Shattuck, Berkeley 849-3020, WFP; 1711 F Grove, Berkeley 849-4961, WILFPEF.

--DOWNTOWN PEACE COALITION (In-house organizing in large firms (PT&T, Bank of America, AAA, for example); occasional rallies). Meetings, every Wednesday at 5:30, open to all at, 86 3rd St., S.F., Rm. 402. Info.: 86 3rd St., S.F., Rm. 402 989-7290.

--ARCHITECTS AND PLANNERS AGAINST THE WAR, Info.: c/o Buildings Systems Development, 120 Broadway, S.F. 434-3833.

--STATE EMPLOYEES FOR PEACE AND CHANGE (leafletting state agencies, providing educational activities, meeting June 3) Info.: P.O. Box 90511, S.F.

--WAR RESISTERS' LEAGUE (information on tax, draft resistance) Info.: 833 Haight St., S.F. 626-6976.

--EAST OAKLAND SWITCHBOARD (Members: volunteers to answer and set-up files. Activities: Calendar of anti-war events in Oakland and Berkeley. Connecting people with resources for anti-war activity. Compile lists of organizations involved in anti-war activities in Oakland. Info.: 2812 73rd Ave., East Oakland 569-6369.

--ECONOMIC ACTION FOR PEACE (Activities: research on war profiteers, organizing a national economic boycott of General Electric and General Motors, organizing economic boycotts of local companies--specifically, the Bank of America, helping groups and individuals to plan economic antiwar activities, hopefully, to publish a catalogue of "good" and "bad" companies, to examine and help establish alternative economic institutions.) Info.: 55 Hyde St., S.F. 861-4284.

Check also the more established groups: SANE, CDC, ADA, BEM, American Friends Service Committee.

Some key national peace groups:

--CONGRESSIONAL CLEARING HOUSE, Washington, D.C. (Tel.: 202-638-2500) directs manpower, money, research to needed areas (nationally) in this year's election.

--PROJECT PURSESTRINGS (1616 K St. N.W., Wash., D.C.) petitions being circulated nationally to push the Cooper-Church Amendment and the McGovern-Hatfield Amendment.

--MOVEMENT FOR A NEW CONGRESS (62 Washington Rd., Princeton, N.J.) using computers to direct volunteers to crucial House and Senate races.

--PEACE COMMENCEMENT FUND (3111 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.) hopes to raise \$1 million from students contributing their cap and gown rental fees; money goes to "the cause."

--REFERENDUM '70 (815 - 17th St., N.W., Suite 421, Wash., D.C.) under J.K. Galbraith, specializes in providing graphics, designing effective literature and assisting in media campaigns.

--UNIVERSITIES NATIONAL ANTIWAR FUND (Box 800, Cambridge, Mass.) established by Nobel laureates and out of MIT trying to get university professors to donate one day's salary to antiwar fund.

(More extensive list in May 23 New Republic.)

By Marsha Berzon and Sheila Grinell